THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION VOLUME 1, NUMBER 9 February 1991

FREE

WORKS IN PROGRESS

"People want peace so much that one of these days government had better get out of their way and let them have it." Eisenhower

Victory Will Not End The War

Helena Meyer-Knapp

Air strikes on Baghdad; ground attack on the entrenched forces in Kuwait; Tomahawk cruise missiles landing with pin-point accuracy: we have heard a great deal recently about how to bring about victory in a war with Iraq. Such talk suggests that victory and an end to the war go hand in hand. But that is not the way wars really end. Victory normally becomes highly probable, often certain, weeks or months before the last shot is fired. We may have to fight on long after we have "won".

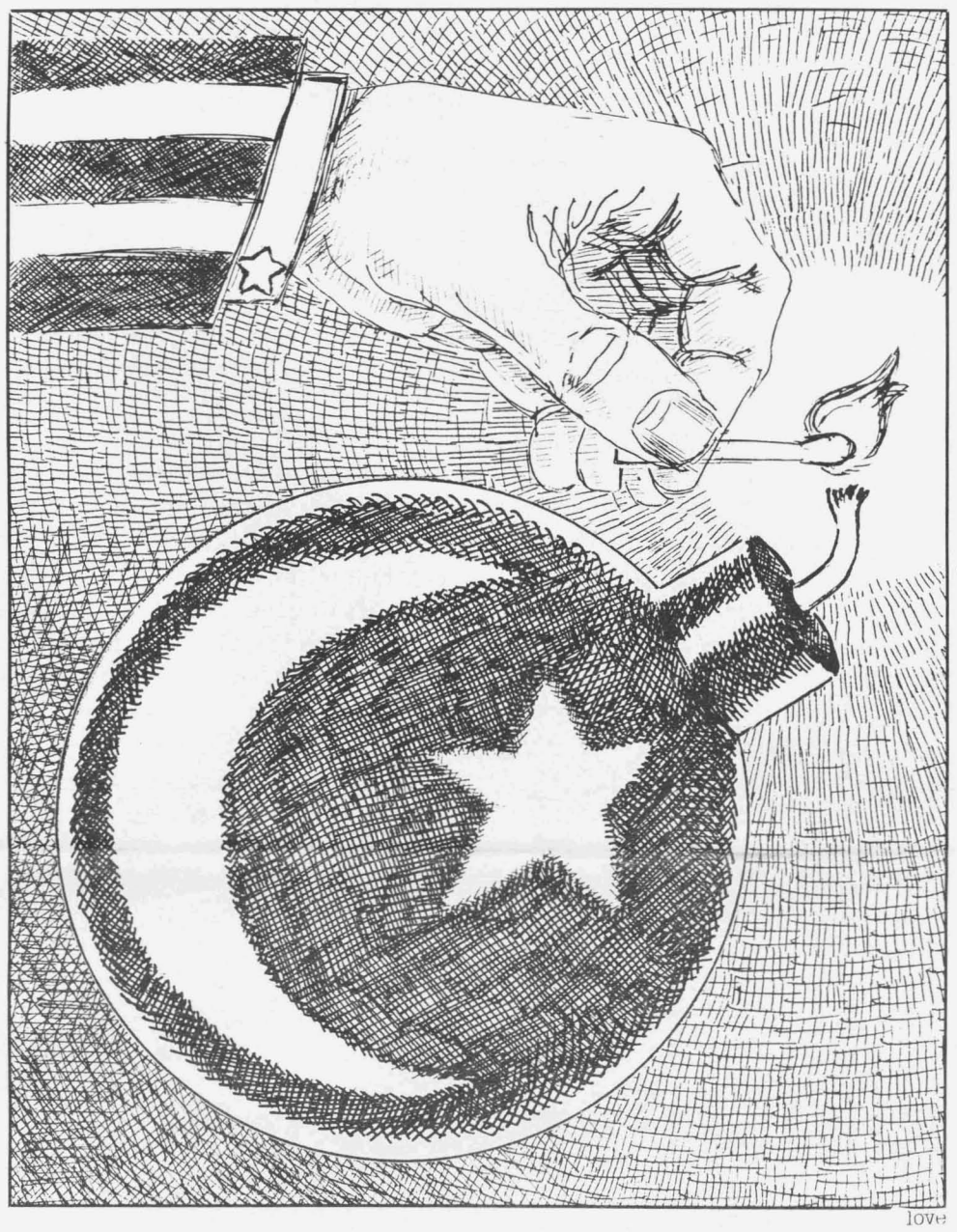
As the fighting is beginning we must tell ourselves the truth about what it will take to stop it again. The coalition troops have controlled the onset of war; they are probably powerful enough to ensure a victory; what they do not have is the power to bring the fighting to an end once it begins, particularly not if the coalition "wins." The US has the power to start a war but not necessarily the power to end it.

Winners do not decide the way and the time a war ends. Losers decide the timing and the manner of a ceasefire. The United States and its partners, by starting to fight, have agreed to go on fighting as long as Iraq wishes to (unless there is a rout of Iraqi forces in a very few days).

Victory may already be assured, as it was after D Day in July 1944, and after dropping The Bomb on Japan in 1945, but "winners" cannot unilaterally impose a ceasefire. In 1945, in 1975 in Vietnam, in Afghanistan to this day the "winners" have had to keep on fighting until the defeated agreed to stop.

The four factors which determine the end to the fighting and the dying are: 1) whether the day to day military balance on the field of battle can still be changed, 2) the prospect for both sides of post-war settlements which address the issues that are still urgent as the war end, 3) tolerance for the actual suffering being experienced because of the fighting, and 4) the balance between "warriors" and "defeatists" among the times group of government leaders included in the Presidential level discussions during the final months or days or hours of a war.

We all know that miliary balance matters and we usually talk as though victory happens when one nation unveils greater absolute military might. Events in Vietnam and Afghanistan and in other past wars demonstrate conclusively that the critical factor is not absolute power. What matters is whether the losing side continues to be willing to deploy additional forces in an attempt to bring about a turnaround.



Once again the power to decide really resides with the side that is losing. The Battle of the Bulge gave Hitler hope, and such battles occur in every war. For eight years Iran and Iraq were both willing to try to tip the balance far longer than seems "reasonable" to the winners.

Fighting on when you are bound to lose *is* unreasonable. But tolerance for suffering and prospects for settlements create the climate that defines reason. The US and the coalition may have to fight long after we become certain that we have "won," even if Iraqi assessments are incomprehensible to us.

In 1945, in 1975 in Vietnam, in Afghanistan to this day the "winners" have had to keep on fighting until the defeated agreed to stop.

If what is at stake is survival as a nation, fighter and civilians alike tolerate much more anguish and physical pain than seems reasonable to those who are defending a principle, i.e. "containing aggression" or to those pressing for "national interest" in a far away land. If your hose and children are threatened it is much easier to kill, than it is to inflict suffering when your friends and family are quite safe. Post-Vietnam we know that the suffering of the frontline troops is much easier for them to endure when those at home can identify with their objectives and their experience. We will have to go on fighting until Iraqi tolerance for the suffering is exhausted, unless ours is exhausted first.

We will also have to go on fighting until Iraq can accept the terms that are being offered for post-war settlements. A number of historians have suggested that allied demand for unconditional surrender in World War II actually prolonged the fighting. Most wars this century have not ended until after the outlines of an agreement acceptable to both sides had been developed. US commitments to non-negotiable stands on post-war dispositions may well deep us fighting for a very long time.

The terms of post war settlements cannot be limited only to the issues that caused the war in the first place. War and the threat of war bring other issues to the fore and the immediate cause may well be overshadowed by concerns made prominent during the combat. Final settlements in this war will probably not be restricted only to the restoration of Kuwait to its pre-war condition and if we insist on limiting hem this way the war may drag on, even while the solidarity of our coalition begins to fracture. We have already seen some fracturing over attempts to reach settlements. If we are too insistent we could even find other nations signing separate ceasefire agreements with Iraq, leaving the US alone in the combat.

In the end, despite all the Congressional votes, and all the public lobbying, the decision both to start the fighting and to bring it to an end rest with the two Presidents and their inner circles of advisors. Citizens can support flexibility in settlements. We can keep alert to the suf-

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Letters

Responding to Good Little Gays

Dear Editor,

I am writing in response to "Good Little Gays" by Ron Whiteaker in the January 1991 issue.

I can understand his point of view. Gays aren't the only ones who are tired of listening to people's sex lives. From my own biased point of view, just about everyone is a victim of sexual discrimination. Homosexuals and bisexuals happen to have a large, fat, and complacent target. I wish Gays would take time to remember that not all heterosexuals are plotting downfall and destruction of everything that is not straight. Get real.

Thank you,
Laura Dodson

Announcements

Saturday, February 9th

Celebrate the year of the Iron Sheep. Tibetan New Year cultural extravaganza and all around good time. 1 - 5 pm at St. Johns Episcopal Church (20th & Capitol Way). Authentic Tibetan food, Tibetan art demonstration, Talk by Tibetan author and leading female teacher, video of Nobel Peace Prize winner, the 14th Dalai Lama, much more. $3.00 entrance fee includes all except food.

Saturday, February 9th

John Robbins, heir to the Baskin-Robbins Ice Cream fortune who turned it all down, will be in Olympia to deliver a talk entitled "Healing Our Selves, Healing Our World". He is the author of the Pulitzer Prize-nominated book "Diet For A New America.
12:30 pm at the Washington Center for the Performing Arts, 512 S. Washington. $9 for the general public and $7 for Olympia Wellness Network members, students and seniors. Tickets available at the Washington Center, Finnigan Chiropractic, Illusions Bookstore and Red Apple Natural Foods.
This event is sponsored by the Olympia Wellness Network. For more information contact Andrea Mikana, 352-9247.

An open letter to the Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition

Peace Rally Tactics Questioned

Dear Friends,

January seventeenth, 1991. I stood at the edge of the crowd in the park, grateful for this rally, for some place to go, something to do. I listened to speeches, feeling a little out of it, alone, and feeling also an itch at the back of my mind. I was of a different generation, a different lifestyle, a different experience than the majority of those there. And, within the speeches, there was a tone that disturbed me, but to which, at first, I could see no real reason to object. Words were passionate and inflammatory - so what? War and death are issues which inflame passion. They were angry, blaming this war on government - so what? I am angry, and I see rational reasons to blame, here.

Then, I began to see the problem.

It was during the march which followed the rally that my awareness of the problem began to grow. When Thursday's march ignored police barricades and plunged into traffic, it became disruptive while accomplishing nothing. Also problematic were the barricading of the Federal Building today and Tuesday's storming of the legislative chambers and occupation of the Capitol rotunda, which one disturbed participant characterized as "mobbish". I group these activities together for criticism for several reasons.

First, such actions create disruptions and great inconvenience for a variety of people.

Now, let me clarify - I realize that this is not necessarily a bad thing. It serves - or can serve - two purposes: it gets people's attention; and, simply, it gives them a taste of the disruption people in the war zone are experiencing. A movement that wishes to affect substantial social change NEEDS people's attention, and needs them to understand the nature of the problem. The problem with this particular tactic is that it seldom works in any positive way, but rather in a very negative one.

I mean by this that the attention that is received is negative and that those who experience the disruption are usually antagonized rather than converted, and they are frequently the very people who such a movement must strive to convert. They are lower-level public employees and the common working person. They are not people in power, but ordinary people whose personal power the movement needs, and by such actions drives away.

I had direct experience of this effect Thursday. As the march moved around and through the barricade into traffic, I was not sure, at that moment, that we were doing the right thing, but I followed. Some stalled motorists were supportive, smiling, but most stared stolidly ahead, late for an appointment, for the doctor, for work. Some tried to inch their way forward as openings appeared in the crowd. I edged my way to the fringes of the crowd as we moved toward an intersection, where I saw a young family in a car on a side street, waiting to get into traffic. I began to cross that intersection with my daughter when that driver, angry, tired, and irritated, gunned his engine and surged forward into the crowd. His tires came within an inch of my feet and my daughter's, the side of his car brushed our coats and put us off balance. He nearly hit another marcher. This was a young working family, a family likely to be seriously impacted by the long-range effects of this war, a family the movement needed. And a family we lost that day.

But, at that moment, I knew, and know now, that this was not the only problem with these tactics, with the rhetoric that I have been hearing.

To make this clear this possibly most important objection, I must draw attention to someone whom the organizers of these events were careful to acknowledge in the first day of these protests: Martin Luther King. Dr. King was not only one of history's greatest advocates for peace, as was pointed out at the rally, but he was also the leader of the most effective movement for social change in this country's history: the civil rights movement. It is in comparison between what is going on in my community this week and that movement that my deepest disturbance lies.

I said earlier that the words I'd heard spoken were passionate and inflammatory, and that I believed this to be necessary. I still do - Martin Luther King inflamed passions in everyone who heard him.

But, I also said earlier that the language I heard was angry and blaming, and it is here that I find the critical and destructive difference. There was a great deal of anger, hate, and blame directed against George Bush, the government, the "corporate war machine", and others in these speeches. Accusations

(continued next page.)

Reflections on War

Dear Gentle Readers,

It is Saturday, I got sick so I quit protesting the war for a day, went down to the beach and let the sun, the lapping water and the slightly swaying branches heal my spirit.

A gull is fishing and my cat, Julietta, is cleaning her fur while I write. Life is precious for everyone in the world. I don't want my country to bomb other people as it is doing at this very moment. I don't understand the logic of achieving peace through war. Our daily newspapers report that our "sophisticated delivery systems of massive destruction and death are working better than ever could have been imagined. Experts are applauding the powerful lessons being learned in the air battles over Iraq for future wars. This is not "the war to end all wars" as World War II was supposed to be. Iraq is a practice field to test our military might for larger or should I say more precise future battles.

I sit here, computer before me, enjoying modern technology in the midst of our splendid Olympic Mountains. Could it be that future wars might become easier as well? Someone could be sitting at a computer, not in danger, typing some precise code which could destroy people who might not like the "New World Order" of more for the rich and less for the poor.

Our "dazzling arsenal" of ever increasing military might worries me. I am not a coward. The people for peace have been working regular jobs, taking care of their households and loved ones while trying to stop the war before it started. We failed to stop it before it started. That is very discouraging and I am not encouraged to go on. But I feel more of us must find the courage to speak out and take the time to protest the military buildup that continues and continues and continues fowling our environment, our relationships with other peoples and ourselves.

"No Business as Usual" until the war is ended. Support only local businesses that support peace. While this killing and destruction go on lets get together with other people to stop the war and plan for Peace, Jobs and Justice.

Peace be with you friends and neighbors.

Peaceful ways Shall Overcome.

Pat Holm

"Iraq/Occupied Kuwait: Violation of Human Rights since August 2, 1990"

Amnesty International's 80 page report to be discussed Wed, January 30 from 7:30 - 9:00 pm at the Olympia Center (222 N. Columbia) Room 103. For more information please contact Janine Rogers, 943-3895.

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Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the WIP Editorial Board.

Keep those letters and cards coming. Correspondence and articles are always welcome. Send submissions to Works in Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

(Victory, continued.)

fering and convey our pain to our leaders as well as we can, but the majority for ceasefire has to be found in the Presidents' inner circles not in public opinion polls.

A survey of the French, Italian, German and japanese surrenders of World War II found that in each case the date for armistice was not set until "defeatists" took control of the inner circles of the governing elite. Unless there is a rout at some point, we will all have to tolerate the fighting, the dying, the killing, the catastrophes, the devastation, until two very small groups of men can agree that the time has come to end it all.

Helena Meyer-Knapp,Ph.D., formally active in the Nuclear Weapons Freeze movement, is now teaching at Evergreen. She is the author of "Nuclear Siege to Nuclear Ceasefire".

(Tactics, continued.)

levelled were peppered with obscenities. This is where the admirable objectives of this movement are undermined and even, perhaps, destroyed.

Martin Luther King said, "...hate is too great a burden to bear..." and I agree. By this, he did not mean other's hate, but our own. He insisted that his followers respect and love their enemies, no matter how much the enemy hated and harmed them.

He also said:

"Compassion and nonviolence help us to see the enemy's point of view, to hear his questions, to know his assessment of ourselves, for from his point of view we may indeed see the basic weaknesses of our own condition, and, if we are mature, we may learn and grow and profit from the wisdom of our brothers who are called the opposition."

It is critical that those of us who oppose this war understand the weaknesses of our own condition, and are mature enough to profit by that knowledge. It is also critical that we have access to the wisdom of our brothers and sisters in the opposition. Without it, we will fail.

There is one final point I must make. The words of Dr. King inflamed the passions of his faithful followers. And the words of the speakers in the community this week are inflaming passions, but they are not inflaming faith.

This is an important distinction. I am not a religious person, but I recognize that a person of faith in a movement has an advantage that I have not seen in the crowds in Sylvester Park and elsewhere this week - that person is inflamed with a sense of his or her own personal dignity and worth, and not with a rage against others.

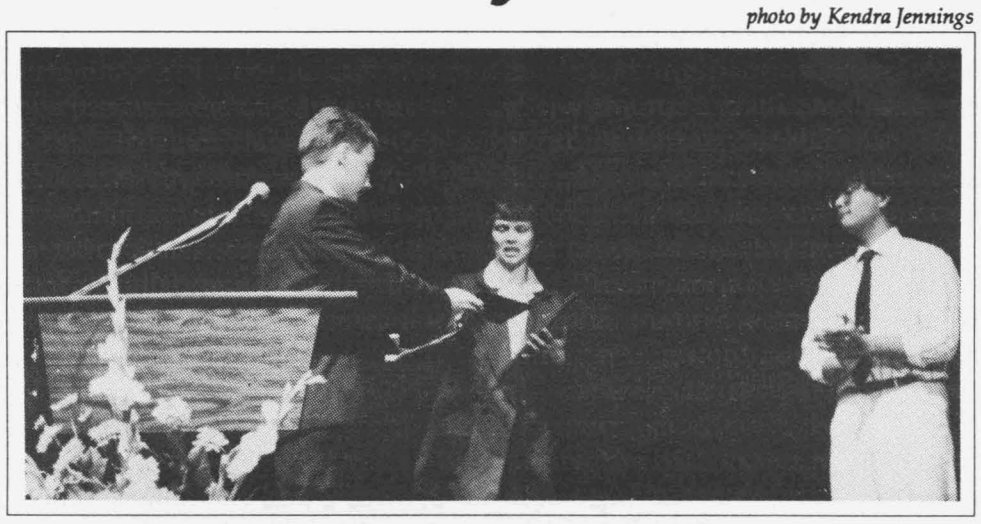
Therein lies their greatest power, and it is a power that we desperately need, and do not yet have.

Respectfully,
Judith Mikesch McKenzie

The enclosed letter has been sent to the organizers of the event criticized, and they know that I am submitting it, as a local issue, to the letters to the editor.

Homes First! Receives Community Award

photo by Kendra Jennings



Dan McGrady

At the Martin Luther King Jr. Celebration on January 21st, the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition gave its first ever award for outstanding contribution to meeting the human needs in the community to Homes First!.

Homes First! is a non-profit organization which was started less than a year ago with the purpose of providing low cost, rental housing for those in need.

This is not a shelter nor a short term housing project, but long term rental housing based on continuing financial eligibility.

Residents will have representation on the Homes First! board. Information and assistance with other needs will be available to tenants. Homes First! is truly working with the Mental Health Center in their search for housing for their clients. Homes First! is truly an equal opportunity agency, including the disabled with an essential caregiver. The whole management plan assures fair and helpful relationships with applicants and tenants.

Homes First has obtained the respect, cooperation and assistance of public agencies in a remarkably short time, and has been able to obtain, move and renovate two large houses and a tri-plex which will all be occupied within the next month.

Katurah Brown, of Homes First!, was presented with a scroll which read, "The Thurston County Rainbow Coalition acknowledges the hard work and success of Homes First! in developing decent low cost housing in Olympia this past year and offers its support and encouragement for your on-going projects.

We know the problems of accomplishment are enormous and the need for such housing is almost overwhelming.

We honor Homes First! because your work is in the spirit of Martin Luther King Jr., and with the philosophy and work of Jesse Jackson. January 21, 1991"

A plaque was also given which read, "Thurston County Rainbow Coalition celebrates the outstanding contribution to the Olympia community by Homes First! 1991".

Dan is the Coordinator for the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition.

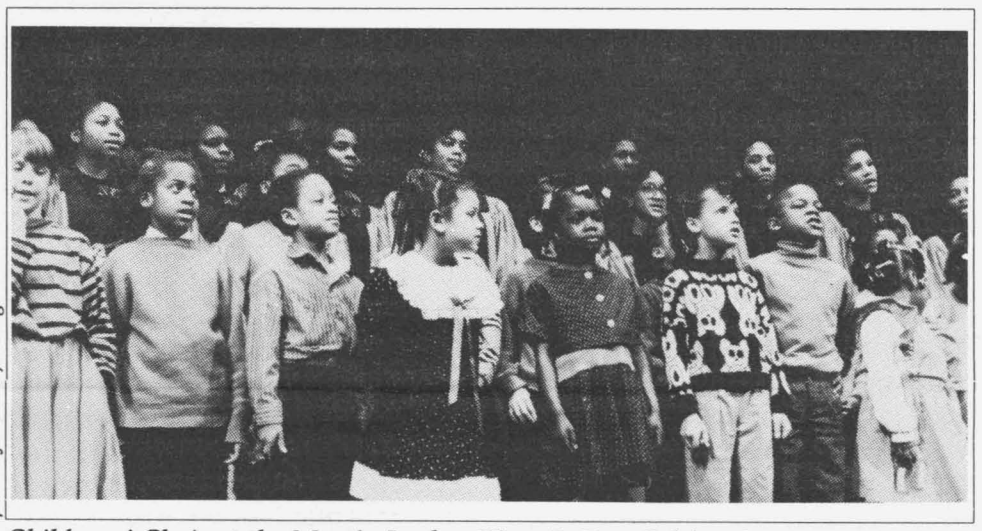
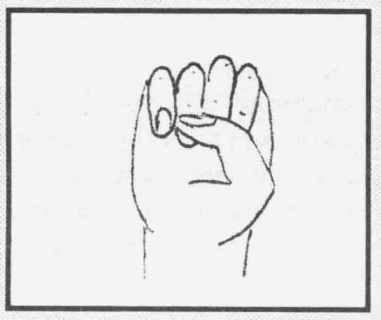


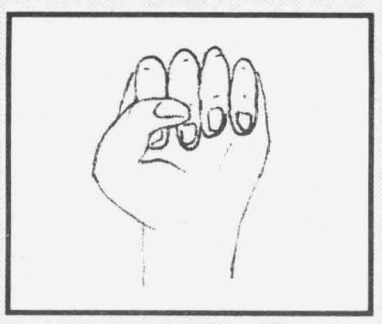
photo by Kendra Jennings

Childrens' Choir at the Martin Luther King, Jr Day Celebration.



AFSCME

Please join us at our



Fight Back Rally

Friday, February 22, 1991

11:30 a.m.

Sylvester Park (Downtown Olympia)

*** Save Our Health Care Benefits**

*** Save Our Civil Service**

*** Support Collective Bargaining**

For more information contact Helen Lee, 943-7178.

AFSCME - Local 443 - AFL-CIO P.O. Box 105, Olympia, WA 98507

Propaganda Build-Up Before War

Alexander Cockburn

I am fortunate to be at this moment of crisis in a country whose government honorably urges peaceful economic sanctions, an international conference on Mideast security and above all no war; I gaze eastward toward London and the most slavish promoter of President Bush's plunge towards war. Whatever the bloodshed, Britain will bear a part of the responsibility right into those final hours on January 15 when the United States delegated its junior partner to sabotage the last minute French initiative in the UN Security Council.

It was Margaret Thatcher on August 28 who -- at a moment when Bush was still swearing publicly that US troops in the desert were there to defend Saudi Arabia -- announced that the aim in sending UK troops was "to get the invaders out of Kuwait". It was Margaret Thatcher on September 2 who escalated the verbal rhetoric, talking of the necessary destruction of Iraq's power.

Now, though she is no longer prime minister, the Thatcher style in purblind braggadocio has easily survived her ouster. No country in the anti-Iraq alliance has been keener for war or more contemptuous of efforts to avoid it. So great has been the martial ardor ventilated in the editorial columns of the British press that it is sometimes hard to remember that the Unite States has some 350,000 troops deployed and Britain 25,000 and not the other way around. Perhaps such disproportion helps explain the ardor.

Day after day British newspaper columns have echoed with the thunder of experts predicting the course of battle: pitiless bombing at the onset of the allied offensive, followed by the great charge into Kuwait, Max Hastings, supreme editorial commander of the Telegraph newspapers issued his combat directives in a long column a week ago. There should be "explosive means to generate violence," he wrote, adding sadly that "historically some British and American high commanders have been characterized by lack of ruthlessness, of the killer instinct on the battlefield."

Hastings, a journalistic veteran of the Falklands campaign, said of the allied commanders that "If they allow their nerve to be shaken by severe casualties, if they accept checks and delays, the long-term costs to lives and strategy are likely to be far worse." Worse than not having at all? The *Daily Mirror* certainly thought so. In an editorial attacking the case for letting economic sanctions take their tools, the Mirror wrote at the start of the week, "Giving Saddam another breathing space would mean MORE deaths and terrible injuries among our forces ... More time to speed the development of his nuclear weapons."

Indeed the idea of a peaceful settlement seems to cause profound alarm in many quarters of the British political establishment. The Financial Times, under the headline "London fears Saddam will stage 11th hour initiative" reported British fury over peace maneuvers by Germany and most particularly France. The story added worriedly that the difference between the President and the US Congress "has raised parallel anxieties over the resilience of public opinion in the US."

Such inference that the United States might lack the stomach for a good fight crops up frequently, along with sneers about the indiscipline of the American press. One commentator, Sir Michael Howard, wrote two weeks ago in the London Times, "the American media, unable to distinguish between impartiality and irresponsibility, exploit every suggestion of poor morale among the American forces in the Gulf." In contrast to their American opposites, British editors have accepted the prospect of severe censorship with scant demur.

The serious consequence of this war fever is that Britain's new prime minister, John Major, has been under no constraint to be anything other than a cheerleader for US policy. He has made his own trip to the Gulf to confer with the Emir of Kuwait with whom -- as one report in the Daily Telegraph put it -- he also "broached the possibility of British companies winning lucrative contracts for the reconstruction of Kuwait." This is a new version of Lend Lease -- "You bomb, we build."

There have been voices of sanity, many of them from military folk who have been in wars. Major General Julian Thompson, who led a brigade of commandos during the Falkland war, warned "prophets of air power have always been wrong," that bombing won't break the Iraqis and there will be a bloody, costly slog on the ground. Others point out that the famous Security council resolution 678, permitting force after January 15, is open to legal challenge in the World Court, since the UN Charter insists force be used only when other means -- i.e. economic sanctions -- have been proved inadequate, which is by no means the case. On this very issue of sanctions the British Party leadership two weeks ago finally broke bipartisan ranks with the Conservative government. First a former Labour cabinet minister, Denis Healey, urged continued economic sanctions as against a war which would hasten a "world recession, crippling the hope of recovery in Eastern Europe, and plunging the Third World into catastrophe just as 15 million Africans are threatened with death by famine," plus a possible global ecological disaster. Then Labour's spokesman on foreign affairs, Gerald Kaufman stated this week that "five months and 13 days (the period between the Iraqi invasion and January 15) cannot convincingly be argued to be the maximum time" to let economic sanctions force Iraq's withdrawal.

Sir Anthony Parsons, former British ambassador to the UN, who wrote in The Times that the problem comes down to linkage of an Iraqi withdrawal with a conference on Middle Eastern security addressing itself to the Palestinian issue. The anti-Saddam coalition, Sir Anthony advised, has "to reconcile the inevitability of such a development with the need to avoid giving Saddam the credit for it."

As the countdown to the ludicrous and arbitrary january 15 deadline by Bush and Baker drew near, protest across Europe mounted. In Germany, Italy, Spain, France and Belgium there are very large popular majorities against war and for peaceful sanctions. The governments of all these nations did not conceal their distaste for the White House line. In Britain at least 80,000 tuned out to demonstrate last weekend. [Early January]

In The Guardian -- the one national British paper to editorialize strongly against the military option -- a number of letters spoke eloquently to the great issue. "The United States, supported by Britain," wrote a score of well known people on the left, "has seized upon the crisis and made it its own... People are being asked to sacrifice their lives in defense of profoundly anti-democratic autocracies. And while the voteless working people of Kuwait await the onslaught, their rulers encourage conflict from the safety of new York and London. Meanwhile the world faces possible human and environmental calamity to defend the privileges of a few and the United States' profligacy with oil. The moral nakedness of the US position is cloaked in Un resolutions. That Saddam Hussein's actions are despicable is beyond doubt. But we are in danger of missing the greatest opportunity the world has ever seen of punishing aggression without using force. In its economically vulnerable and isolated position, Iraq could not survive concerted sanctions."

And from Oxford Professor Rowan Williams began his letter, "It is surely one of the greatest triumphs of recent propaganda that the idea of a UN sponsored regional conference on the Middle East agreed before the outbreak of war can be presented as a 'concession' to Saddam Hussein. There is nothing morally reprehensible about doing under constraint what you ought to do anyway; and the very existence of the present nightmarish situation in the Middle East, the very way in which Saddam can present himself as 'savior of the Arab nation; demonstrates exactly why a regional conference is something that ought to have happened long since."

This is the truth of the famous 'linkage', and against this reasoning, on January 15 George Bush was preparing to go to war, in order not to have a conference, in order not to talk about Palestinians. These are the words that should be carved on the gulf memorials and gravestones

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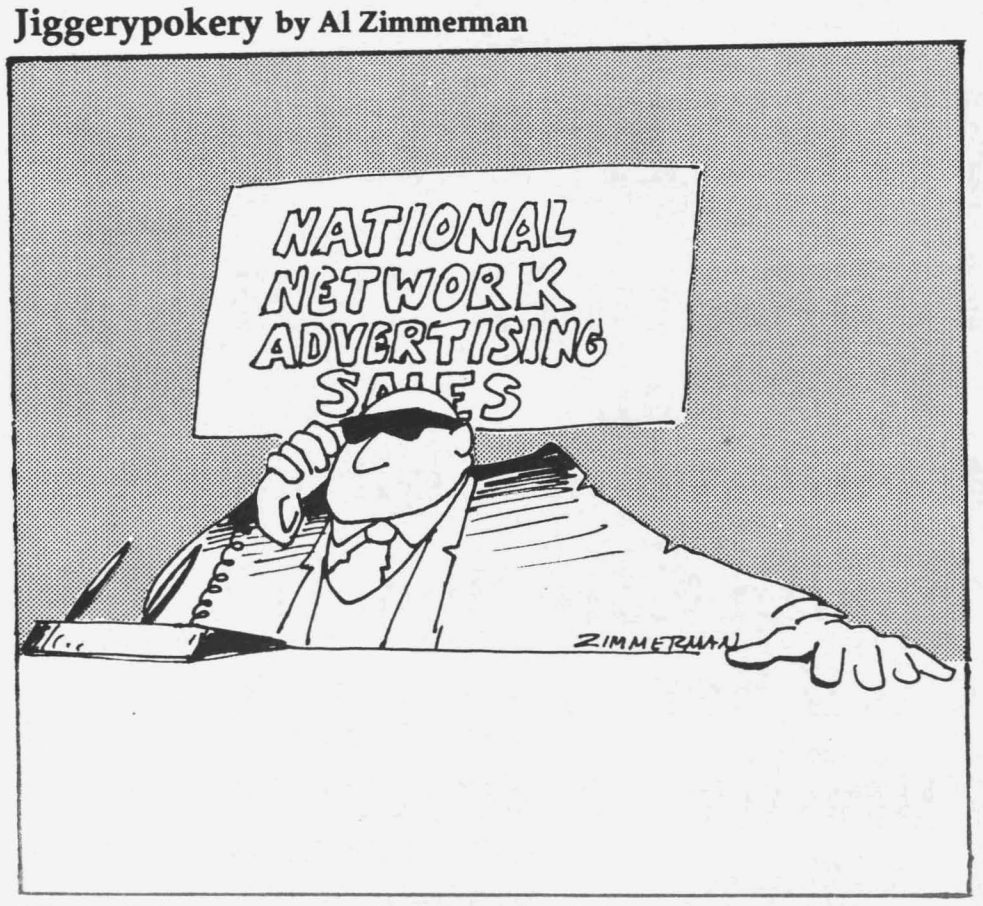
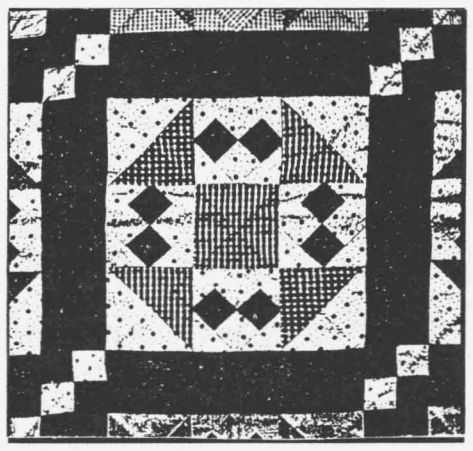
Jiggerypokery by Al Zimmerman



Yo Saddam, your ratings are looking up from here . . . How about sending me your rate card . . . I think we can do a little business.



Patchworks

Thomas Mitchell Freeman

Listen to the voices
Crying to be free
Can we be the promise that we promised to be?
Love and understanding are better than a war
People just laughing 'cause they've heard it before.

-Labi Siffre

On Thursday, January 17th, a large anti-war protest/peace rally was held in response to President Bush's commencement of war in the Middle East. The rally followed on the heels of Tuesday's well-publicized peace rally and march, in which a large contingent of activists occupied the state House chambers demanding that Washington pass a resolution. Throughout the trauma of the week, the rational, articulate voices rang clear: "No War!" Bring the Troops Home! No Blood for Oil!"

When I arrived at Sylvester Park on Thursday, the mood was somber. So many of us were still suffering from the shock of watching the United States proceed into the largest war since Vietnam. There were tears, hugs, and a fierce determination that we would not acquiesce to expectations (which I believe were largely media constructed) of supporting the President and the war effort. Although nearly everyone there came to express their outrage, a few pro-war counter demonstrators confronted us with charges that we were "against our troops" and "unpatriotic." For those of us who believe in peace and respecting diversity of opinion, it was challenging to remain calm and open to criticism while being verbally assaulted.

I personally encountered a small group of angry counter-protesters at the park who were engaging in spirited debate with peace activists. At least two of the men were marines in uniform and one man, who was by far the most explosive angry, was a Vietnam veteran around 50 years old and wearing an Olympia Public Works shirt. After listening for a while to a barrage of verbal insults and taunts, I quietly suggested to them that if were continued to raise our voices at each other

W.I.P.'s March Issue Article Deadline
February 13

Anti-War Rally Delivers Clear Message:

Bring The Troops Home Now ! ! ! !

and call each other names, nothing positive could happen; it wouldn't solve anything. With the one guy who was the most vociferous in his disdain for us, I told him I appreciated his perspectives, assured him that we were in support of American troops—that, in fact, it was our desire to have them home rather than die in the Middle East (and how could one be more supportive than that?) and that his anger over the treatment he received when he returned from Vietnam was certainly understandable.

I have never been in a face-to-face confrontation like this before. Part of me wanted to throw in my own verbal punches, and part of me felt intimidated as hell and wanted to get as far away from them as possible. At that moment I thought of something my friend Dusty once said to me. She said that if you show respect and love in the midst of disdain and hate, usually the anger will be contained and true communication can happen. I tried it and it worked fairly well. Even while still calling me names, I was able to get the 50 year-old Vietnam veteran to shake my hand and acknowledge an agreement to disagree.

We were concerned citizens peacefully demonstrating our opposition to death and destruction in the Middle East. How ironic to have the media and the president challenge our patriotism.

The music at the rally was inspiring and soothing. Hearing "Blowin' in the Wind" brought tears to my eyes yet, comfort to my soul. I knew we weren't alone; that we weren't just a group of social outcasts looking for something to react against. There was a lot of love at the rally and during the march. We were concerned citizens peacefully demonstrating our opposition to death and destruction in the Middle East. How ironic to have the media and the president challenge our patriotism. Being told to move to Iraq by hawk-minded individuals disturbed me. The assumption that criticism directed at our government is somehow inexcusable or un-American fails to respect the principles of free expression stated in the first amendment of the Constitution. It was James Baldwin who once wrote, "I love America more than any other country in the world, and, exactly for this reason, I insist on the right to criticize her perpetually."

I cannot totally blame those who attacked us for standing up for peace. The media has maligned the peace movement, suggesting that we are nothing more than a mob with violent tendencies, determined to undermine "our" president - our government. Particularly guilty has been Mike Conlin of KOMO-radio, who herd a rumor that the activists occupying the House chambers on Tuesday, urinated on the floors, destroyed furniture and caused a tour guide to have a heart attack. The Olympian picked up the ball and ran with "the mob" story, angering an already tense community and creating problems for the Evergreen State College, which was being blamed for the patently false charges Conlin drummed up. Ultimately, staff at the Capitol responded to the story saying it wasn't true and complimenting the protestors for conducting themselves in a polite manner, respecting the property and even learning how to caucus with the help of a staff member.

Polls suggest that peace activists are in the minority, that an overwhelming majority support Bush and the Persian Gulf war. Perhaps I am naive, but I don't believe these polls. Questions can so easily be manipulated to draw out the responses that the policy makers seek. For while a majority of Americans support, according to polls, military action against Saddam Hussein, the majority oppose such action when the question is posed with a thousand U.S. casualties and that opposition grows even more pronounced when that figure reaches 10,000 U.S. war dead.

Blind patriotism and nationalism is a social sickness that must be confronted. If we truly "love" America, we must demand that it act according to its own principles and rhetoric. We must oppose our own naked aggression and learn to negotiate for peace, not fight for world domination.

At the end of the protest March, outside the federal building, I witnessed the blindest nationalism I had ever encountered. A group of young, white high-school students mostly young men and a few older women, hurled a barrage of insults, slurs and obscenities at us. I found it particularly frustrating because I looked for a way to engage them in dialogue, but unlike the earlier counter-protestors there wasn't any. All they could do was scream at us and make ridiculous statements like "Get a job", "Get off welfare", "Take a bath", ...etc. (And these were some of the more articulate statements). The small group was unable to debate the issues with us, would not counter the logic of our position for peace and were thus, forced to dehumanize us through vicious verbal attack. I confess I was unnerved by their hatred. When those who oppose you proceed to totally dehumanize you, it becomes so much easier for physical violence to erupt. It's hard to fight someone you consider a fellow human being. I left the rally concerned about the counter-protestors. I only hope that they found a level of serenity and the ability to abandon their hatred and blind nationalism and at least listen to what we have to say, as we tried to listen to what they were saying.

I am filled with sadness today. I am feeling sorrow for the hundreds of thousands of Iraqi citizens who will die due to the U.S.A's spraying of missiles, bombs and bullets. I am frightened for our own troops, so many of whom entered the "volunteer" military in response to promises of "being all you can be," seeing the world and in pursuit of educational opportunity. For unbeknownst to most Americans, there has been an on-going draft for years. It is an economic draft which says to the poor young men and women in the ghettos and economically deprived areas across the country, that if they join the military and fight for the industrialists, the multi-nationals and the oil-barons, they can get an education—assuming of course that they are not killed in combat. It is a price they should not have to pay. And as long as the war continues, we will publicly withhold consent for death and destruction done in our name—done in the name of Americans.

"So I have not said to my people, "Get rid of your discontent." But, I have tried to say that this is normal and healthy, discontent can be channelled through the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action."

Letter from Birmingham jail
Martin Luther King, Jr.
April 16, 1963

Tom is a regular columnist for WIP, a member of the WIP Editorial Board, a WIP subscriber, a WIP distributor, in short, a much appreciated main-stay of WIP, as well as being a graduate of TESC, where he is now studying for his masters.

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Year of the Iron Sheep Celebration

by Bob Saunders

The Iron Sheep Year is the designation for 1991 in the ancient Asian lunar calendar system. It is significant for Olympia because this will be the first year in which the Olympia Tibetan Buddhist Center offers a public celebration of the new year. It will be a unique opportunity to enjoy traditional Tibetan food, observe a Tibetan artist demonstrate traditional temple painting techniques, and see videos of the Dalai Lama - 1990 Nobel Peace Prize recipient. The highlight, however, will be Lama Dagmo Kushola telling the story of her family's escape across the Himalayas from the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1959. All this and more will occur Saturday, February 9, 1991 between 1:00 pm and 5:00 pm at St. John's Episcopal Church at 20th and Capitol Way.

The Year of the Iron Sheep also marks the beginning of the eleventh year of the Olympia Tibetan Buddhist Center. The center began in 1980 when several Olympia residents were sufficiently impressed by the Dalai Lama's talks that year in Seattle that they requested additional teachings on Tibetan Buddhism to be given in Olympia. This request brought them in contact with H.E. Jigdal Dagchen Sakya Rinpoche of Sakya Monastery, one of the highest lamas in traditional Tibet, who had been invited to the University of Washington, and subsequently founded the Tibetan Buddhist Center of Seattle.

The teachings of Tibetan Buddhism are frequently summed up by the Dalai Lama as simply the practice of loving-kindness.

As a principal member of the traditional Tibetan government of the Dalai Lama, H.E. Jigdal Dagchen Sakya, Rinpoche was a member of a peace delegation from Tibet to China in the 1950s. After the failure of negotiations and the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1959, Rinpoche fled the destruction and ultimately arrived in Seattle. The principle speaker on Feb. 9, Dagmo Kushola is Rinpoches' wife, an esteemed spiritual teacher in her own right, and the author of a recent book entitled "Princess from the Land of Snows".

The Olympia Buddhist center exists for the study and practice of Tibetan Buddhism and is fortunate to have in addition to the Seattle teachers, its own resident Tibetan lama, Jamyang Tsultrim. The teachings of Tibetan Buddhism are frequently summed up by the Dalai Lama as simply the practice of loving-kindness. Tibetan Buddhism is a vast and profound path for realizing and learning to practice this most simple but also most elusive quality. Tibetan practices include meditation, study, discussion, visualization, chanting, prayer and other methods. A continually deepening awareness of oneself and of ones relations to others is a fundamental part of the practice. Although Tibetan Buddhism seems initially exotic, a short time around Tibetan teachers quickly reveals the true attractions of simplicity, openness, kindness, humor and compassion. In fact it can be so down-to-earth that the simple here and now quality begins to seem like the "transcendence" that was perhaps originally sought.

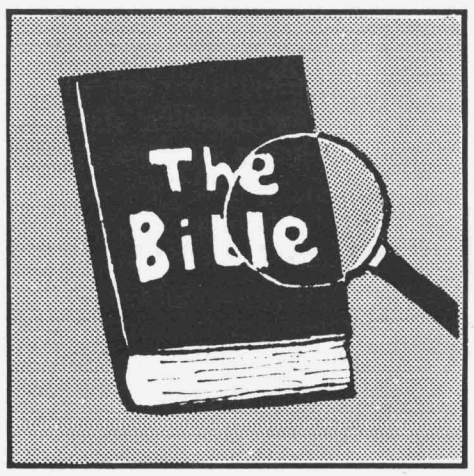
New Years, however, is just New Years, the beginning of the Year of the Iron Sheep, and a fun, interesting afternoon of celebration. Join us if you like. There is an entrance fee of $3.00 which includes all events except food. Tashi Delek! as they would say in Tibet.

A Little Biblical Perspective, Please

Garnett has sent us another of his wonderfully humorous and insightful writings in his battle against the hypocrisy of religious leaders. This one is apparently in response to an article published in his hometown of L.A.. Enjoy.

Garnett Phibbs

Re: Spin doctors "Rev." Bill Dannemyer et al (in "What the Bible Says About Homosexuality" 12/15/90), perhaps this season of highly symbolic language affords us a good opportunity to regain some sem-



blance of perspective:

* When any of us presume to be experts on the Bible and especially to beat each other over the head with it in surgical proof-text ing out of context, we need to be honest and admit that we probably disagree more on WHAT the Bible IS than on WHAT it SAYS: Minimal honesty is:

* Every page of the Bible was written on the assumption that the earth was flat or square — so much for its contemporary knowledg e of astronomy.

* Every page of the New Testament was written on the assumption, often explicit, that the world would end within the authors' life time — so much for their knowledge of science and history.

* Every page of the Bible assumed that illness was caused by invasions of outside "demons" and "evil spirits" into the human body.

(Even Jesus reportedly healed a man by driving the "demons" from him into a herd of hogs then them, drowning, into a lake.) (for which this ole Virginian has never quite forgiven such a waste of good ham!) — so much for their Biblical knowledge of physiology and pathology.

* One of the "Ten Commandments", considered historically as the world's greatest moral code, stipulates "Thou shalt not kill" - prima facia, an absolute absolute if ever there was one - no ifs, ands or buts - without ambiguity. Indeed the early church took it so literally that no Christian served in the army for the first century and a half (aided by the other prohibition against deifying the emperor). — so much for Biblical military ethics.

* No biblical scholar of merit would deny that "usury" or charging interest on loans, was prohibited by Biblical ethics, and indee d obeyed for centuries - even until recently. — so much for Biblical economics and banking.

SINCE virtually ALL of our real scientific knowledge and ethical research about homosexuality is less than a decade old, how irrelevant can we be in arguing this fact of reality on the basis of "knowledge" of 3,000 years ago?

SO, how come - all of a sudden, many of us who either have never even read the Bible or in pseudo-sophistication think it is totally irrelevant for every OTHER experience of modern life, so readily seize upon the Bible as the ultimate blackjack to bash the heads of relatives and friends who seek understanding and equal treatment for gays?

Every page of the Bible was written on the assumption that the earth was flat or square — so much for its contemporary knowledge of astronomy.

Garnett Phibbs, an ecumenical social action leader for 30 years, has three graduate degrees, two from Yale in social ethics.

The Issues/ Policy Committee Is Back ! ! !

Dan McGrady

World events got you down? Don't just complain, do something about it. Become involved with the Issues/Policy development committee of the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. The Issues committee has been dormant for a while, but it will be brought back to life by people who are interested in informing themselves about issues and taking action on them. You don't have to be a member of the Rainbow Coalition to attend this meeting.

This will be an open meeting to help set the agenda for the Issues/ Policy committee for the upcoming year. **You** can make the Issues committee whatever you want it to be. We will discuss these topics among others:

1. Identify those issues we want to key in on and make a difference.
2. Discuss the most visible and effective ways to take action on them.
3. Discuss the possilbility of Rainbow Coalition lobbyists in the State Legislature.
4. How to reach out to people who share our concerns and get them involved.
5. Anything you want talk about or think we should know about.

If anyone wants to come and inform the group about what you or your organization are doing please do!

For more information please call Dan McGrady at 943-0990

Know My Culture, Know Me

An Education Forum

Who: All students in 2nd through 12th grade and parents/ guardian

What: To promote culture understanding by developing specific knowledge and awareness
To prepare 10th, 11th, and 12th graders for college or the world of work
To help seniors apply for college and college scholarships

Where: New Life Church 618 North Puget Olympia, WA 98506 (206) 352-8399

When: Saturday, February 9, 1991 at 10:00 a.m.

For additional information call: 456-4289
Presented by the Olympia Branch of the Tacoma Urban League

The Story of Shellfish , the Tribes and the State's Present Cooperation

From Time Immemorial

Steve Robinson

On the ocean and along all the inland waters of what is now Washington State, Indians have enjoyed and depended on rich varieties of seafood for a thousand generations. Indian elders have always taught their young people to respect Nature's gifts, to take only what they need and use all that they take. And the Indian has depended on these gifts for food...trade... culture...their very survival.

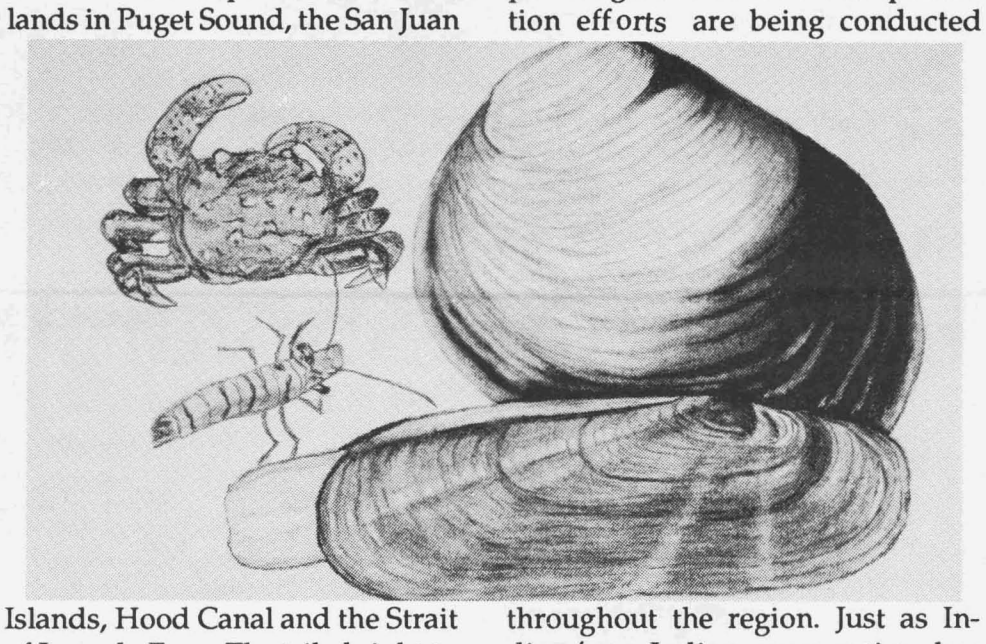
In the mid-1800's, thousands of pioneers poured into the Washington Territory, causing constantly increased demands for land and resources, and thus causing increased demands to push the Indian out of the path of progress.

An estimated 93 shellfish species have been traditionally harvested by the Indians in Western Washington, including clams, oysters, snails, abalone, barnacles, shrimp, crab, sea anemones, squid and octopus. Indians have historically used many types of implements and traps to gather fish, clams, crabs and other marine invertebrates. Beach seines, dip nets, basket traps and tidal impounding trap s gathered shrimp as well as other fishlife. Basket cylinders and cone traps were used to harvest spotted shrimp in Hood Canal. Some were harvested with small beach seines pulled along the shore. In deeper waters, fish traps operating on the tidal cycles were effe ctive in harvesting shrimp. Stationary gear such as small beach set nets and pound nets were used to catch shrimp in tideland areas.

Shellfish were taken year around wherever they were accessible. Major Indian gatherings often coincided with the most suitable tidal period and large amounts of shellfish were cured for winter stores and trading. As with other fish and game, the Indian has always practiced good conservation. In addition to smoking shellfish for year 'round sto rage, shells were used for tools, ceremony and a medium of exchange. Others were used to help provide habitat for the growth of new generations of shellfish.

In the mid-1800's, thousands of pioneers poured into the Washington Territory, causing constantly increased demands for land and resources, and thus causing increased demands to push the Indian out of the path of progress. Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens signed treaties with the tribes which ceded millions of acres of land wanted by non-Indians to es tablish the State of Washington. Along with the treaties came reservations...and a century of persecution. Step-by-step Indians were denied the traditional fishing, hunting and shellfish harvesting rights that had been guaranteed them in the treaties. Just as clos ures were imposed upon the tribal salmon fishermen as commercial fishing dynasties ran rampant in marine waters, the tribes were shut out of their traditional shrimp and crab fisheries and tidelands were sold off at a head-spinning rate to private owners who were not informed of the continuing right of the tribes to dig on all usual and accustomed harvest grounds.

Between 1889 and 1971, the st ate sold about 80 percent of all tidelands in Puget Sound, the San Juan Islands, Hood Canal and the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The tribal right to continue harvesting on usual and accustomed areas was confirmed by the United States Supreme Court in U.S. vs Wi nans in 1905 and again in U.S. vs Fishing Vessel in 1979. Clearly, the harvest right exists.



The single biggest threat to the shellfish resource is water pollution. In what seems to have been a blink of an eye to the Indian people, the earth they have always loved and depended on has been overpopulated and polluted. Breathable air has become endangered. The once pristine waters of Puget Sound now carry poison to her beaches, most of which have been closed to shellfish digging due to t oxic pollutants. As had happened with hundreds of treaties established between the Indian nations and the United States, the treaties of the Northwest were violated, and through the years Indian efforts to secure those things promised to them led to conflict. The situation came to a head in the tumultuous 1960s, when the state conducted a major assault on Indians still attempting to exercise their treaty-prote cted right to fish. The tribes won in court, and have subsequently joined with the state in a different approach to resource management, one that has proved to work — co-operation. Cooperative management has worked well with salmon management. Time after time, the approach has led to solutions to what otherwise seemed to be unsolvable problems. An unprecedented coalition of state, tribal, sports and commercial fishing interests produced the U.S. - Canada Salmon Interception Treaty in 1984, forming an in ternational fishery management entity essential to the survival of the fishery resource. the Timber/Fish/Wildlife (TFW) Agreement is another unprecedented development credited to state/tribal cooperation. TFW revolutionized the management of timber in the state, particularly as it affects fish, wildlife and Indian cultural resources. Tribal hatcheries throughout the region release a combined total of 50 million healthy young fish into rivers and marine waters ever y year. Cooperative harvest plans are now produced for every fishery and coordinated basin planning and environmental protection eff orts are being conducted throughout the region. Just as Indian/non-Indian cooperation has proved to be the best approach in salmon management in Washington State, so, too, will it prove most beneficial in shellfish management. The state and the tribes have conducted shellfish negotiations over the past several years. The sessions have proved beneficial and there has been progress toward increased cooperation in shellfish harvest management, shellfish enhancement and improved water quali ty programs. The tribes have, at times, been forced to file litigation in federal court to receive specific interpretation of treaty rights. But they hope for continued progress in cooperative shellfish management which will help open the door to increased environmental protec tion and enhancement of the resource for the generations to come.

Clearly, the path of state/tribal cooperation is the path that will lead to a comeback of the shellfish resource, just as it has for salmon. The tribes have much to bring to such a partnership. Thousands of years of stewardship. An age-old perspective as applicable today as ever before; Ongoing and active shellfish enhancement programs at various tribes; Knowledge about wise harvest techniques; Scientific support through the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission's shellfish management section; The force of federal law to back up proper decisions in land use planning and environmental protection processes; Knowledge; Enthusiasm; And a legacy to benefit Indian and non-Indian alike.

Steve Robinson works for the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commissionwhich represents the interests of 20 Treaty Indian Tribes.

The video "From Time Immemorial..." is available through the NIFC (6730 Martin Way, Olympia, WA 98506. (206) 438-1180).

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Nuclear Testing Must Stop

Chris Russo

As we travel down I-5, sardined in a mini-van with 6 other people, I enjoy the company of new friends. 1,200 miles allows time for much acquaintance. Current topics provide an abundance of good conversation. What would a ride to a Nuclear "proving" grounds be without a discussion about George Butch and Sad Huessin. Silly as it sounds, we jested jovially about these apparent juveniles. Our undertone though conveyed a seriousness that provided the main impetus for our present state of movement. We were headed to Nevada to learn more about nuclear weapons issues and more importantly to take action against nuclear testing.

It's purely academic, we concluded, by necessity there is no other place for Las Vegas than next a nuclear test site. The chemistry between the two is perfect. The unrestrained reactions of the test site can be viewed as being partially powered by Las Vegas's pure decadence.I a true Ying Yang balance, Las Vegas draws much of its sickness from its neighbor's fallout. What harmony.

Universal harmony was on our minds. For the next two days we were to be part of an American Peace Test (APT) and Greenpeace sponsored conference and demonstration supporting an international ban to nuclear weapons testing. Food not Bombs and Seeds of Peace also contributed by providing an abundant supply of vegetarian food.

While seated in the main room and listening to opening remarks the warmth of many peaceful people filled the air. Chief Raymond Yowell of the Western Shoshone, gave an opening prayer. Later, Rebecca Johnson of Greenpeace International spoke of the "organic process" that was ensuing. She also highlighted one of the central themes of our struggle- POWER.

By questioning and calling for an end to nuclear testing our movement is threatening the current power structure's control. The military industrial complex has given war-minded mentalities the means to determine too many people's destiny. Academia has become saturated with the belief that war is somehow benign. Citizens readily consume the material benefits of our military economy. Too many people are hooked on the false assumption that national security is predicated upon violent acts of aggression. This deadly nationalistic idea is repressing a healthy natural development of Earth.

Carl Sagan warns of the "Nuclear Winter" that would result from a global nuclear war. Whole cities would burn out of control. The incineration of everything in a city would create a sooty particulate matter. After lifting off the city, huge black clouds from other cities would merge. They would spread longitudinally then laterally. A semi-opaque layer of sooty smoke would then cover the northern hemisphere. Imagine the desperate situation to follow. Darkness. Loss of sunlight would cause temperatures to drop. Crops would fail. Our food supply would be cut off. Chemically toxic fumes from the fire would cause huge holes in the ozone. Radioactive wastes would drop to the ground. Several billion people could die. This is the reality we are creating. How can we casually live with the knowledge that only a few people disproportionally control the fate of the whole planet.

The "Nuclear Winter" scenario is what could happen. The by-products of our current state of nuclear weapons manufacturing, transportation, testing and waste disposal is proving to be catastrophic now. Of the 15 nuclear weapons facilities in the U.S., at least two have had major radioactive releases. For more than twenty years, the DOE coveredup information about dangerous radioactive releases at Washington's Hanford and South Carolina's Savannah River plant.

The military industrial complex has given war-minded mentalities the means to determine too many people's destiny.

Jay M. Gould and Benjamin A. Goldman's 1990 book, Deadly Deceit Low Level Radiation High Level Cover-up, documents through statistical analysis South Carolina's mortality rate around the time of the Savannah River Accident. They found that after the two nuclear rod "meltdowns" in November and December of 1970, radioactivity in the region's rain increased six times over the same month of the previous year. As a result of inhalation and milk and water contamination, there was a significant rise in the mortality rate. Is the pain suffered by thousands of innocent victims of the nuclear weapons industry worth the false perception that we are protecting our national security?

One issue of nuclear weapons production not often discussed is transportation. The US interstate highway system is an integral connection in the production and deployment of nuclear weapons. Cargos of uranium, plutonium, tritium

Photo by Barbara Belletiere

(1991 NTS) March from the Sahara hotel to Nevada's DOE building.

Economic Conversion, Now

Draft Statement by the Economic Impacts of Nuclear Weapons Testing workshop at the 1991 Nevada Test Site conference.

America is being held hostage by a defense industry addicted to public funding of nuclear weapons production testing.

We call for the immediate formation of a national commission like that in the United Kingdom to study and implement the conversion of our wartime economy to one based on peace, from the building of weapons to the production of socially responsible products aimed at improving the quality of life for this and future generations. Such products would include mass transit, renewable energy and conservation, health care, education, housing - leading to full employment in socially beneficial jobs.

We call for the immediate formation of a national commission . . . to study and implement the conversion of our wartime economy to one based on peace . . .

This joint commission, reporting to congress, should be comprised of representatives entirely free of any stake in the weapons industry. A balanced membership could come from government, business, the trade union movement, the environmental, peace and native American movements and grass roots citizens from around the US..

The chief aim of this conversion attempt must be toward freeing the enormous resources being squandered at the Nevada test site, the seventeen nuclear weapons production facilities, and in the national defense industry overall. We have barely begun to cope with the current health and ecological clean-up costs of these industries, not to mention the future costs of the accidents yet to happen. The global nuclear power and weapons industries must be shut down before the costs escalate even further.

At the Nevada test site in particular, the $1 billion being spent each year could result in pensions of $30,000 per year being paid each of the ten thousand workers at the site, with $700 million left over for clean-up.

Overall seven times more jobs per dollar are created from spending on education than on the military. Immediate conversion from military spending would be a credible deterrent to unemployment, and would result in a far more stable national economy than the military-based one we have now, which is so obviously sinking into recession.

The huge quantities of resources being wasted on the production of arms stems on large part from a "Military Keynesian" mindset - the idea that prosperity depends on spending a trillion dollars a year on the global military to push our economy.

In the 1990's we no longer have the economic margin for this kind of waste. The lethal fallout of military spending has no benefit to society or the planet.

Relatively successful models of peacetime economies are now operating in both Germany and Japan. Both theses countries have outstripped us economically and technologically by avoiding military spending.

One-half our scientists and engineers are currently working on military technologies. This terrible waste of human resources is the ultimate threat to our economic and ecological security, and must stop.

Among other things, we are here at the Nevada Test Site to begin the process of redirecting our nation's resources, and it's economic future, from the war to peace, from recession to true lasting prosperity.

This Statement was a jointly created by the vision of:Pat Arnold-Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Irene Dick-Green Party, Rick Peterson-CAW, Mary Ross-Beyond War, Harvey Wasserman-Green Peace, and the spirit of all who work for a sustainable universe.

and other bomb parts are transported by trucks called "SSTs". The department of Energy believes each of these 50 special H-bomb trucks to be a "Safe Secure Trailer". Over a twelve year period (1975-1987) there were 173 accidents reported. These statistics correspond with the standard accident rate for interstate heavy trucks. At four million miles a year and 4.5 accidents expected for each million miles travelled, When will the Valdez of "the Bomb" industry occur?

Off the road and into the ground, we're proudly going to explode one more load. As if it's not recognized, the US refuses to admit that it has more than enough nuclear weapons to destroy the whole planet. Our government believes it to be necessary to continue testing. Our country isn't alone in this folly. For 45 years until 1989, six countries have conducted more than 1800 nuclear test explosions. The US. averages one test every 18 days. Seismic equipment at Caltech and other monitors have also detected 115 unannounced tests. Testing's wasteful use of intellect is an insult to humanity.

Instead of addressing pressing social concerns, our military minded government is pressing nuclear detonators. Each assault to our home costs $30-$40 million.

65 miles northwest of Las Vegas on land known as Newe Seyobia, sits the Nevada test site (NTS). The treaty of Ruby Valley signed in 1863 by the US. and the Shoshone established the Shoshone as legal stewards of this land. The DOE's pres-

Photo by Barbara Bellettiere

Marchers chanting ,"What do we want. Peace. When do we want it. Now."

ence and continued testing is a blatant violation of this treaty.

Since 1963, more than 650 underground explosions have taken place at NTS. Tests are conducted in vertical and horizontal shafts 600 to 2000 feet long. NTS explosions range from 1 kilo ton to 150 kilo tons (1 kilo ton = 1000 tons of TNT.). Mr. Gary Whiteford a geographer at New Brunswick University in Canada has evidence that the earth's wobble is disrupted every time a nuclear test occurs. Mr. Whiteford believes nuclear testing has added strains on the Earth's crust. He has noted a correlation between underground nuclear explosions and earthquakes.

More conclusive is the evidence compiled about the health and environmental effects of testing. A huge tract of land, approximately 75 square miles, is contaminated with plutonium, cesium, strontium, and other radioactive debris. This land is clinically dead. Official US. documents show that approximately 20% of all underground tests release some degree of atmospheric venting. In areas of Utah downwind from NTS., childhood leukemia rates have been documented at 2.5 times the national average. In one region with a population of 4000, there were 108 excess cases of cancer recorded. A 1979 publication by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission estimates that 35,000-85,000 people have died since 1967 as a result of nuclear testing. This is only a small portion of the data on the impacts of nuclear production and testing. Wasted land, unnecessary deaths, when will the world wake up and call for an end to this insane way of creating peace?

Resistance in the Soviet Union's Kazakhstan republic has forced the USSR government to close it's Semi-Palatinsk nuclear test site. Outraged by birth defects, sickness and death resulting from exposure to radioactivity released by Soviet tests, Kazakhs formed a strong grass-roots movement. In solidarity with NTS opposition, the Kazakh group was named The Semi-Palatinsk Movement. The people of Novaya Zemlya in Siberia, the Soviets only other test site, are also receiving support from the Kazakhstan group.

Though the US has maintained a non-stop testing policy, The Soviet Union, since 1985, has twice halted all nuclear testing for a year or longer.

28 years ago in 1963 118 nations agreed on a Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTB). Above ground testing was banned and all agreed to "continue negotiations to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time".

Five years later, the US, the USSR and nearly 100 other nations entered into the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). The NPT created an agreement between nations with nuclear weapons and those without. The nations without nuclear weapons capabilities promised not to acquire them and those with promised to negotiate nuclear disarmament.

The US's refusal to negotiate a CTB sends a strong message to nuclear threshold countries that they too should not be stopped from developing and testing nuclear weapons.

From January 7 to 18, 1991, The United Nations convened a Comprehensive Test Ban Conference. Frustrated by a lack of progress by the US and Great Britain towards an end to nuclear testing, six non-nuclear countries invoked a LTB provision and requested the conference. The conference's main goal was to amend the LTB to halt all testing. For the Comprehensive amendment to pass the three original negotiators of the LTB, the US, Great Britain and the USSR all have to vote for the amendment. The US is the strongest opponent to a comprehensive test ban. To avoid the US's threat to veto, the conference was adjourned without a vote. Early next year the conference will reconvene. By that time it is hoped that more support for the CTB will cajole Washington into voting for the amendment.

The US's refusal to negotiate a CTB sends a strong message to nuclear threshold countries that they too should not be stopped from developing and testing nuclear weapons.

Whew! After a day of workshops and networking, a peaceful group of people were ready to get active. We embarked on a naturally fueled walk. Some 300 banner toting activists marched from the conference location to the DOE building two miles away. Upon arriving, we formed a human chain around the building. Our spirit was one as we chanted and sang songs of peace. Our strength sent a warm message of love to everyone in the building. The next morning, 65 miles NW of Las Vegas, nearly 3,000 people gathered outside the gates of the NTS. Several speakers talked of the importance of our movement and affinity groups bonded even tighter. Between 12:30 and 4:30pm, 750 people participated in civil resistance. The power of the people brought new life to the desert test site.

The 26 hour trip home allowed time for much reflection. Peace, social justice, the environment and all other issues are intrinsically woven to form a cohesive whole.

We need to continually educate ourselves and others toward a peaceful coexistence.

Action you can take

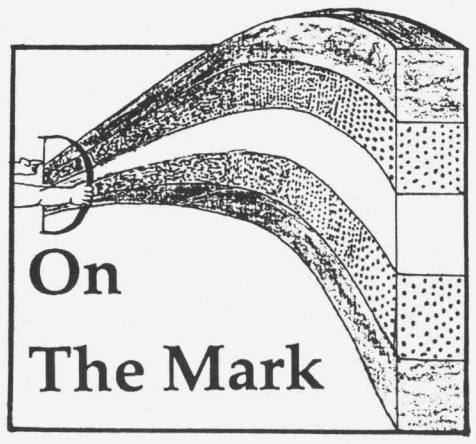
Do you know what an SST looks like? Have you seen an SST on the highway? For more information and highway actions you can take while traversing the country's interstate system, get an "H-Bomb Truck Spotters Kit". The kit includes a US map with known truck routes, photos of the trucks and escort vehicles, and background information. Send $2 to The Benedictine Peace House 2912 N. Robinson, OKC, OK 73103.

Chris Russo is a professional volunteer who is currently looking for paid work.

Pop Quiz On The Cost Of Our Military Economy

1. How many stealth bombers would it take to fund the EPA's entire pollution abatement control and compliance program?
   a.50 b.25 c.100 d.1
2. At the end of 1989 a stealth bomber cost about $____.
   a.2.7million
   b.815million
   c. 750thousand
   d. 1 billion
3. In 1989 The US spent about $300 billion on defense, which represents ____% of the GNP?
   a. 15 b. 50 c. 5.7 d. 12.8
4. Each $1 billion cut in Pentagon outlays affects ____ US workers.
   a. 56,000 b. 6,000
   c. 38,000 d. 10,000
5. In 1990 the defense budget equaled ____% of total government spending.
   a. 50 b. 6 c. 25 d. 65
6. In 1990 one in _____ persons on Earth lives in a state of starvation.
   a. 5 b. 500 c. 50 d. 5,000
7. The Gramm-Rudman Act, designed to curb the federal deficit, was enacted in 1985. It implied that cutbacks would be distributed evenly between defense and domestic programs. In reality $1.2 billion was cut from defense accounts and $____ from nondefense programs.
   a. 2.5 billion b. 1.3 billion
   c. 750 million d. 5 billion
8. What percentage of your income tax dollars goes to the Pentagon?
   a. 5% b. 15% c. 25% d. 50%
9. A Japanese citizen pays $____ for defense per year.
   A W. German citizen pays $___.
   A US citizen pays $____.
10. The total number of persons employed in the military industry, at the Pentagon, in civilian positions on bases and in the armed forces is ____.
   a. 2 million b. 3.5 million
   c. 6.5 million d. 7 million

Test Answers:
1.d, 2.b, 3.c, 4.c, 5.c, 6.a, 7.a, 8.d, 9.$163, $464, $1,141, 10.c



IS MARXISM RELEVANT TO US?

Dave Jette

Last month we examined "complementary holism", the worldview advanced by the book *Liberating Theory* by Albert et al. This worldview sees human activity as being divided into four basic spheres (economic, community, political, and kinship) which are mutually interdependent while having equal status with one another. A basic criticism that the book makes of other worldviews is of monism, meaning that one particular sphere is considered to determine (in some sense) what goes on in the other spheres. For Marxism, this criticism of monism concerns the presumed primacy of the economic sphere.

The previous month's column (December 1990) had introduced *Liberating Theory* and put forward its fundamental political criticism of Marxism, that it serves the interests of a new exploitative economic class called the coordinator class. In view of the recent political and economic upheavals in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, it should be clear by now (if it wasn't before!) that there are some real problems with Marxist theory and practice. On the other hand, Marxism does profess to offer a humane (in fact, the only possible) alternative to capitalist society, and it is important to examine its strengths and weaknesses as we ourselves strive for a truly liberated society. In next month's column we shall look at political aspects of Marxism, and right now we shall remain at the philosophical level and take up *Liberating Theory's* criticism of monism in Marxism.

Marx's "Historical Materialism"

Marxism does indeed consider the "economic base" to condition the rest (the "superstructure") of society, in a unique way which does not apply to the role of the other spheres. (Remember, complementary holism also considers the economic sphere to condition the other spheres, but this relationship is regarded as being symmetric, with each sphere in turn conditioning the others.) This essential component of the Marxist worldview is called "historical materialism", and we should let Marx speak for himself on this matter:

> In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite state of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness.

This is a famous (to Marxists, at least!) quotation from Marx's *Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, written in 1859. In it we can already see the seeds of weaknesses of Marxism as it has been put into practice by socialists. It is important to understand and identify these weaknesses, lest we fall into the same traps.

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Problems with Historical Materialism

The immediately obvious problem with this quotation is its substitution of "men" for "people". That was, of course, the style of discourse at the time, and it has been only very recently that revolutionary men have finally figured out that women can, and must, play just as active a role in the transformation of society as they themselves hope to do. Nonetheless, this "slip of the tongue" points to a fundamental flaw in "classical Marxism", that of economic determinism, as explained next. (We refer to Marxism as it has actually been put into practice, especially in the Soviet Union and by that society's adherents, as "classical Marxism".)

As seen clearly in the quotation, the Marxist worldview regards the economic sphere of activity to constitute the base of society, conditioning everything else (the "superstructure"). As interpreted by "classical Marxism", this has meant the subordination of popular struggles in other spheres of activity to the class struggle occurring in the economic sphere. In the U.S., until only recently Marxists have strongly tended to regard these "other" struggles as mere aspects of the class struggle. For example, many (white) Marxist revolutionaries have held that Black liberation struggles shouldn't be vigorously carried out because doing so would "divide the working class" in its fundamental struggle against the capitalists (the main enemy of human liberation).

Once capitalism has been overthrown and socialism established, this economist viewpoint suggests that the main task facing society is developing the economy: with greatly increased production, the other problems will naturally solve themselves (under the active leadership, of course, of the vanguard communist party). Worried about the lack of democracy in the Soviet Union? Well, once the society of (material) abundance is built there, these necessary restrictions on democracy in the socialist transition period will fall away. Recent events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have no doubt disabused many supporters of classical Marxism of such fantasies, as the people there have overwhelmingly rejected these monstrously undemocratic political systems, given the opportunity at last. But the fundamental flaw at the philosophical level, economic determinism, has probably remained in many Marxists' worldview.

. . .many (white) Marxist revolutionaries have held that Black liberation struggles shouldn't be vigorously carried out because doing so would "divide the working class"...

Liberating Theory's Contribution

What is one to conclude about *Liberating Theory's* criticism of monism in Marxism? My own reaction is to consider the criticism to be quite applicable to "classical Marxism". However, I do think that the economic determinism of "classical Marxism" constitutes an erroneous development of Marxist theory. I think that it is possible, and indeed scientifically necessary, to adhere to the historical materialist outlook of Marxism, but in a dialectical way which recognizes the relative independence of the community and political spheres, from the economic sphere. (To do so requires an understanding of dialectical development, which classical Marxism has also gotten wrong. We can't go into the theory of dialectics right now, but I do claim that it is possible to interpret historical materialism in a dialectical way which retains the concept of economic base while avoiding the error of economic determinism. The interested reader can obtain some initial work on this problem by writing to me at *Works in Progress*.)

On the other hand, I do agree fully with *Liberating Theory's* placing the kinship sphere apart from the other three spheres, as an equal; the first three spheres concern social relationships, while the kinship sphere subsumes personal relationships (family, sex, love, etc.), and these two kinds of dynamics are quite different. The book terms "socialists" those progressive activists who advocate the primacy of the economic sphere, and "feminists" those who consider the kinship sphere to be primary. Therefore I think it is scientifically correct for social activists working toward the liberated society of the future, to identify themselves as "socialist-feminists", rather than simply as "socialists" (or whatever).

The title of this column poses the question of the relevance of Marxism. At the philosophical level - that of worldviews - we have seen that its economic determinist interpretation suggests that Marxism is irrelevant to building a better society, but we would also claim that it is possible, and indeed necessary, to understand Marx's theory of historical materialism in a way which retains the concept of economic base while allowing for the relative independence of the community and political spheres. Furthermore, in order to construct a correct worldview it is also necessary to study in detail the interrelationships among the various spheres, as *Liberating Theory* so well does, and to separate out the kinship sphere as having equal status with the other spheres.

This and the previous month's columns can be but an introduction to the question of worldview, hopefully encouraging social activists to investigate such philosophical problems in depth. Next month we shall take up the question of the political relevance of Marxism.

Dave is a member of the National Coalition for Independent Political Action and is a regular columnist for Works in Progress.

Sensible Growth Requires Sensible Taxation

by Marvin Saillard

Land-values begin to rise as soon as it becomes general knowledge that an area is to be developed. This does not mean that the developer is the cause of the increase of land-values. He is merely taking advantage of the economic pressure of population growth. Land-value is people-value. Without the presence and activity of the people there would be no potential for economic growth, and developers would not be attracted to the area.

Developers know about population and growth potential. They also know about human behavior, so they try to buy up the land before news of the development gets out. Developers anticipate demand and buy up as much land as possible as cheaply as possible. Developers, or anyone else, with advance knowledge of the route of a proposed expressway stand to make a lot of unearned income through land speculation.

The developer, who buys cheap land for development, may make as much, or more, from the appreciation of land-values as he does from the buildings and improvements. This unearned income from the increase in land-values explains why developers can afford to ply their trade while many other people are suffering from high prices due to inflation.

There is nothing wrong with making money by building homes and businesses, and by producing products (wealth). However, unearned income from land-price inflation throws the economy out of balance. Inflated land-prices raise the price of everything because everything is made from and on the land. Higher prices reduce the number of products and homes and businesses that can be made and sold. This discourages production and depresses the economy.

The government tries to counteract the forces of depression in the economy by spending tax money, by manipulating interest rates, and by deficit spending. But, taxes also tend to raise prices and discourage production. Some communities use tax abatement to give a company a tax incentive to locate in their area. This is offset by shifting the tax load to other taxpayers, which reduces the buying power of the community as a whole. All of the government's efforts to correct the imbalance in the economy just adds more depressing factors into the economy.

Land-price inflation is caused by undertaxing land-values. The taxes spent to counteract the effects of land-price inflation tend to further raise prices and discourage production.

There are many people who cannot afford to improve or develop their valuable locations due to high prices, and due to high taxes on buildings and improvements. Instead of selling to someone who can afford to use the land efficiently, they can afford to hold the valuable land out of use, or in underdeveloped use, until land-price inflation allows them to reap an unearned income by selling for much more than they paid for it.

Land-price inflation causes urban sprawl because developers must look away from the urban center to find land they can afford to buy and develop. Urban sprawl expands the area that must be served by public services, at great expense to the taxpayers. Higher taxes discourage production even more. Tax-created problems cause demand for tax-financed treatment of the symptoms of recession, depression and poverty.

More taxes, higher prices, less production, more problems, more demand for tax-financed solutions. Where does it all stop? IT ALL STOPS WHEN WE DO AWAY WITH THE INITIAL PROBLEM OF LAND-PRICE INFLATION. This will eliminate the imbalance caused by unearned income from land-price inflation. The unearned income comes from buying low and selling high when the community has grown up around them. Land speculation is made possible by underassessing valuable land when it is unused, or inefficiently used.

Our economic equation is - LAND plus LABOR plus CAPITAL (tools) equals ECONOMIC WEALTH (consumer products). People in need of products require access to land. Competition for the use of land creates rent-of-land. If one person holds title for exclusive use of a location (land), he needs to pay rent to the rest of us for the privilege because, if the land belongs to any of us, it rightly belongs to all of us. Labor competing with labor for jobs determines the level of wages. Capital competing with capital to be used in production determines the level of interest income (with an assist from government manipulation of the currency.)

The economics of land-use is dependent on people because land cannot use itself. Capital (tools) must also be used by people (labor) in order to provide more efficient production and greater productivity. The economic equation is thrown out of balance when land-title holders are allowed to speculate in land-prices.

Speculation creates land-price inflation by artificially reducing the supply of available valuable land. Land-price inflation allows landlords to make an unearned income by selling our land at a large profit. This discourages labor and capital because they must pay higher prices for products made on and from the land. Higher prices mean fewer products sold. This discourages production. This is economic depression in the making.

The symptoms of a depressed economy stir up public demand for tax-financed solutions. Higher taxes mean still higher prices and further discouragement of production. Economic problems start a vicious cycle of higher taxes, higher prices, lower production, more problems, higher taxes, etc., etc. Then begins deficit spending.

Land-price inflation caused by land speculation can be eliminated by collecting the rent-of-land as public revenue, and by untaxing products along with untaxing the earned incomes of labor and capital.

Land-title holders should pay the full rental-value of our land to our community as public revenue for the privilege of enjoying exclusive use of our land. This would make it unprofitable to hold valuable land out of use, or in underdeveloped use, while waiting for higher land-prices.

When land becomes more valuable during the development period, the rent-of-land will automatically increase to assist the community government in providing the increased public services needed. Public services help maintain and enhance land-values.

If the rent-of-land is collected as public revenue, there is no net-rent-after-taxes to provide the land-title holder (developer) with an unearned income. There is also no need for other taxes on the developer's work, or on the developer's products, or on the members of the community.

Let us discourage higher land-prices by a higher tax on the rental-value of land. Let us encourage production by untaxing development, homes, businesses, and the earned income of labor and capital.

Do not blame capitalism for the evils of landlordism. Landlords buy capital and then confuse the people by calling themselves capitalists instead of landlords. Their contribution to capitalism just helps the rich grow richer while the poor can no longer afford the products of land and labor and capital.

Marshall Field I once said that "Land is the only way to make money." He meant through land speculation and unearned income from land-price inflation. The establishment of Marshall Field's Department Store with his unearned income from land speculation was a way of making him and his family respectable capitalists.

Let us discourage higher land-prices by a higher tax on the rental-value of land. Let us encourage production by untaxing development, homes, businesses, and the earned income of labor and capital.

Land-price inflation seriously affects the economy because nothing can be produced without access to land. Elimination of land speculation by means of collecting land-rent as public revenue will make land more easily available for land-users, and will encourage efficient use of land.

More efficient use of land means more jobs and a greater demand for labor and for capital. Jobs competing for labor and capital will mean a higher return (income) for labor and capital. Efficient use of land will give us the best opportunity to use our productive potential. There will be jobs for everyone willing and able to work, and there will no longer be any involuntary poverty.

Land-value taxation may not be an easy solution to our economic problems, but it is the easiest and simplest solution available to us. Thank goodness it is, because it is the only solution.

It is certainly true that sensible growth depends on sensible taxation.

Marvin Saillard, recently retired from the Illinois Environmental Protection Agency, has been a vocational student of political economy since 1953 and is now a happy new resident of Thurston County.

Meta Starts Another Tax Class

Meta Heller has announced that she will be teaching a class on Classical Analysis I - a six week course - every Sunday afternoon at 7715-C Prine Dr, Tumwater from 2 to 4 pm beginning in March. The cost will be $34 and the proceeds will go to the Washington State Georgist Association. Those interested must sign up in advance by contacting Meta at 352-9507.

Students will be taking part in an inquiry into the nature of Human behavior. The class will be tapping into several disciplines, including economics, psychology, sociology, and ecology. This inquiry will lead to some useful understanding of ourselves and others. Although the study will work through theoretical concepts, the conclusions are completely practical.

The program was developed by Harry Pollard, Executive Director of the Henry George Schools of California. Classical Analysis is being taught in Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York City on an on-going basis.

Meta Heller, a free-lance writer & student of taxes, met Harry Pollard, an Englander from Manchester, in Los Angeles last summer .

Two Trends In The Peace Movement

by Ron Jacobs

Reflecting December 20, 1990 on the U.S. invasion of Panama a year ago I am reminded of the lackluster response on the part of the so-called peace movement. Here in Olympia approximately thirty people attended a demonstration at the Federal Building. This was after a demonstration the month before of over 300 against the U.S. involvement in the bombing of El Salvador and the slaying of the six Jesuits and their housekeeper. The reason given by many "peace activists" was that Noriega was a bad man. Why did people say this? Because Uncle Sam told them he was. Did Noriega's supposed villainy make the U.S. invasion right?

We, as activists, cannot accept the half-truths and outright lies of the government and its media spokespeople but should seek other avenues of information. And trust our own judgement. If a movement against military intervention is to be effective and sustaining, we need to oppose all imperial motion. This includes lynch mobs in pursuit of CIA-created "drug dealers", funding for Contras and fascist armies, as well as outright war.

Recently, the antiwar movement against war in the Middle East has generated two trends. One calls for the use of either residual U.S. forces or U.N. forces to maintain order in the Persian Gulf region. The other demands the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the area. The mainstream political discourse, meanwhile, debates the means of maintaining U.S. power, not the ends (since they are not in question), as it discusses the virtues of war as opposed to sanctions, and vice versa. Forgotten by all but those who demand immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces is the historical fact that U.S. troops bring war, not peace.

. . . it was Carter who established the Rapid Deployment Forces and declared that the U.S. military would "protect the free flow of oil".

The fundamental difference in the abovementioned perspectives is the perception of the United States' role in the community of nations. Those against any intervention U.S. war moves as attempts to prevent any non-imperial types of relationships between nations. The others believe the structure of U.S. hegemony as basically good. To these segments, it is only the means of enforcing that hegemony with which they have trouble.

In the sixties and seventies, the lack of concerted direction by those segments of the antiwar movement who believed that only fundamental changes in the system would prevent future corporate wars allowed corporate liberals to manipulate the U.S. public (in the movement and oelsewhere) back into the fold. This was accomplished by providing room for antiwar sentiments, yet left the transnational corporations' agenda in place.

The Carter presidential campaign and election is a prime example. Although many of his supporters were active in the anti Vietnam war movement, it was Carter who established the Rapid Deployment Forces and declared that the U.S. military would "protect the free flow of oil". Nationally, it is this group who, until war broke out, urged the enforcement of sanctions and the presence of some U.S. troops in the Middle East. Their slogans urged us to prevent the "rush to war" and demand a public and Congressional debate. The other sentiment called on us to not only prevent the rush to war, but to prevent war itself by calling for an immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces.

Locally, the former trend is represented by the Community Campaign for Peace -- a group composed of local Democrats and their supporters. The trend urging an immediate end to the war and withdrawal of U.S. forces can be found in the literature of the Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition. Unlike the national groups, however, the two organizations maintain positive relations and continue to work towards a common purpose. The reasons for this seem to lie in the desire of activists in both groups to emphasize our points of agreement instead of disagreement. After all, if we truly want to end this war and prevent others, we must organize our fellow citizens, not argue amongst ourselves. Furthermore, even when we do disagree, we should continue supporting every action which opposes the war. The more protest, the better.

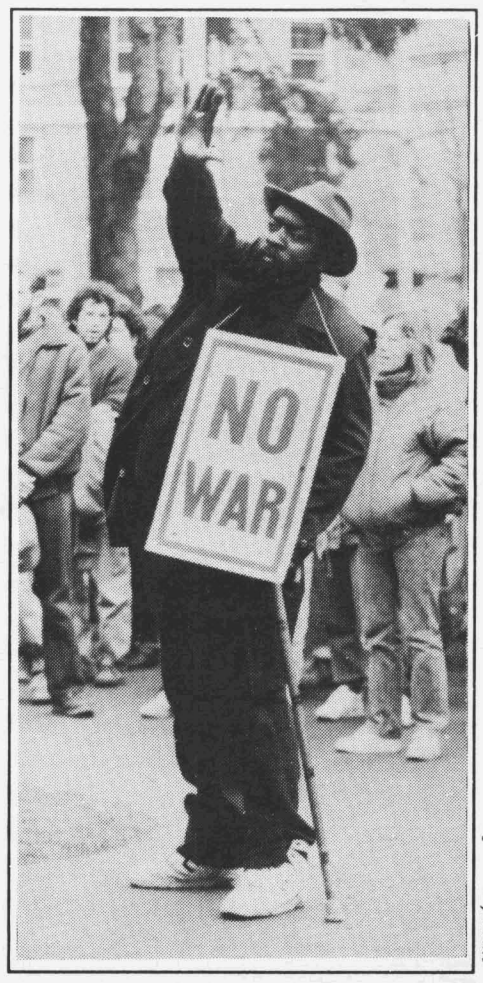

Photo by Chris Jordan

Ron Jacobs is a member of both the Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition and the Central American Action Committee.

Attend Black History Week at S.P.S.C.C.

Steve Salmi

A searching, scholarly discussion of the often overlooked contributions made by Blacks to world history is just one of the topics to be discussed during Black History Week February 11-15.

South Puget Sound Community College proudly presents five days of presentations, films and public forums devoted to raising awareness about the progress and challenges faced by African Americans. Also offered during Black History Week will be ethnic food, art displays and entertainment. All events are free and open to the public.

Dr. Peggy Brooks-Bertram will offer a keynote presentation, "The Untold Contributions of Africans to World History," Tuesday, Feb. 12 at 11:30 am in bldg. 26, rm 105. The African-American scholar, poet and playwright will shed light on facts largely overlooked in today's classrooms and textbooks.

Another highlight of Black History Week will be a film festival, which will present an exciting series of classic films documenting the Black experience. Films include "The Price of the Ticket," a sensitive biography of writer James Baldwin; "Black Sugar," a riveting expose of the exploitation of Haitian workers by sugar plantations; "Road to Brown," a moving tribute to a little-known Black lawyer who led the fight against Jim Crow laws; and "The Meeting," a thought-provoking fictional play where Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. debate their differing approaches to social change. Films will be continuously shown each afternoon until 6 pm in bldg. 22 room 206.

Black History Week will be capped by a public forum Friday. Feb. 15 tentatively titled, "The State of African Americans: Issues and Obstacles." The forum will be held at 11 am in the Student Lounge.

This first annual event is sponsored by the college's Multicultural Affairs Council. The recently formed council of students, faculty and staff is dedicated to developing innovative and thought-provoking events that nurture a better understanding of the diverse ethnic groups which make up modern America.

For more information, look for program schedules that will be circulated in the greater Olympia area or contact Karen Tanner at 754-7711, ext 231.

(Cockburn cont. from page 4)

of tomorrow.

The First Casualty

Truth is the first casualty, people always say gloomily at the prospect of war: True enough, (though even at the best of times truth hobbles around with its leg in a cast) and just how rapidly this happens can be illustrated by the case of the premature Kuwaiti babies, supposedly left to die last August by Iraqis who then removed the incubators to Baghdad. It has become the tale used by the Kuwaiti government in exile, as well as by President Bush, as the most vivid evocation of Iraqi brutality.

It should be said right away there are thousands of examples of such Iraq brutality and denial of elementary human rights, not just in Kuwait but in Iraq (where Bush was once inclined to be forgiving). But the baby horror is untrue.

The charge received its first quasi-official imprimatur in a report late last year by Amnesty International. Reviewing what it termed extra-judicial executions, Amnesty International said, "In addition, over 300 premature babies were reported to have died after Iraqi soldiers removed them from incubators, which were then looted." The report quoted an unnamed Red Crescent doctor as saying that 312 premature babies at Maternity Hospital in the al-Sabah Medical Complex died after being taken from incubators and that he personally had buried 72 in al-Rigga cemetery.

The Amnesty International report also quoted October testimony (to a US Congressional Human Rights caucus) of a 15-year old Kuwaiti girl who had been working in the second week in August as a volunteer at the al-'Addan hospital. She said she had seen armed Iraqi soldiers go into a room where there were fifteen babies in incubators: "They took the babies out of the incubators, took the incubators and left the babies on the

(Continued next page)

The Year Without A Summer

Anonymous

Saddam Hussein has asserted that he has 350 oil wells set for destruction; gravity-fed oil wells that would be next to impossible to quench should they be ignited, particularly in the disorder of a war. There is little reason to doubt his word should he feel those wells were no longer of any service to him; indeed, he boasted his awareness of the ecological consequences of such an act to his assembly on Sunday, Jan 13.

In 1816, on an island in Indonesia, the volcano Mount Tambora

erupted with a violence that claimed 92,000 lives; sending ash and sulfurous gases around the globe. For most of the earth's population, the event itself went largely unattended, but the resultant phenomena proved much more difficult to ignore: unseasonable cold.

June of that year saw songbirds perishing from exposure in Manhattan; the ground in Vermont and Connecticut frozen solid - in some places to a depth of three feet; crop damage so extreme as far south as Virginia that Thomas Jefferson was forced to borrow substantial cash to save his farm.

The potato crop in Ireland was so blighted by the frosts that the ensuing famine and plague exacted a death toll of over 65,000; the people of Shanxi Province in China not killed by hunger and disease were forced into a mass exodus in search of food; France was racked by riots over grain; those of lesser means in Switzerland dined on that country's cats. It is estimated the global drop in temperature averaged 3.5 degrees Fahrenheit for that year.

The closing decades of the twenties century finds us with a planet manyfold more crowded, some two-thirds of her humans in varying states of undernourishment. A deplorable number of people are held just above famine, dependent upon the grain-rich bounty of those latitudes north of forty degrees. One growing season sufficiently disrupted by such extremes of weather would plunge this world into chaos beyond imagining; the First World would quickly become intimate with the suffering and deprivation of the Third.

If each one of Saddam's blazing oil wells produced roughly little more than a quarter of sulfurous gases of the Mt. St. Helens eruption (which was a very modest event on an historical stratosphere) might well be matched, irrespective of additional contaminants from burning cities. Even if production of those highly reflective gases equaled less than that amount, it is unrealistic to anticipate that they would not be abundant enough to have some unexpected (and unpleasant) effect on our weather and atmosphere, as well as further degrading our already damaged ozone layer.

Are we in for no more than just a bad case of another year without a summer? Or with, perhaps, too much of one? Who knows...or better, who would wish to find out?

One growing season sufficiently disrupted . . . would plunge this world into chaos beyond imagining; the First World would quickly become intimate with the suffering and deprivation of the Third.

Perhaps we should seek the opinions of some reputable atmospheric scientists (that would preclude any purchased by the Administration) before we test Saddam's resolve. Jordan's King Hussein has. And in describing the results of his queries, the term "horrendous" was prominently employed. Others have as well. And the answers they have received have been no less unsettling.

As we listen in fascinated horror to casualty estimates, chemical attack scenarios, nuclear weapons deployments - all those obvious adornments of war - we may be so distracted by the shouts that we ignore what is being whispered; only discovering the true extent of the catastrophe being created too late to do anything but suffer the misery. We may find the body count - as unconscionable as it will be - not limited to the battlefield, but enveloping our world.

Ed. Note: The article above, written on the 14th, was handed to an Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition member on the 15th at the Rally with the message to use it as the Coalition saw fit. If the person who authored this wonderful piece should happen to read this, "We enjoyed your article. Please send more."

(Cockburn continued.)

cold floor to die. It was horrifying."

One final incident noted in the Amnesty International report concerned a woman who had had quadruplets at the al-Razi hospital, gone home and then returned to find them out of their incubator. She took them home where they died a day later.

Amnesty International was remarkably off-hand in offering news of what would be one of the most gruesome crimes of the age. Over 300 babies, and just 46 laconic lines deep in its report! Is it likely that any hospital in Kuwait would have so many incubators? County Hospital in Los Angeles, for example, has 13. Is it plausible that doctors and nurses at al-'Addan hospital would have stood by when those babies where dying on the cold floors, deaths that could have taken place over several hours? The report offered no names, either of witnesses or of the families of the victims.

Other human rights organizations seem to have been cautious about the allegations. In devastating and detailed testimony on Iraqi abuses in Kuwait offered to the House Foreign Affairs Committee on December 8 Andrew Whitley, director of the New York-based Middle East Watch made no mention of the babies. Aziz abu-Hamad, a Saudi consultant researching abuses for Middle East Watch interviewed the Red Crescent doctor who by then denied having used the 312 figure and spoke only of burying 72 babies.

This doctor had no way of knowing whether they had been in incubators, nor indeed from which hospital they had come. When interviewed, he was living in the Sheraton hotel in Taif, hq of the Kuwaiti government, as are all Kuwait Red Crescent personnel.

Kuwaiti doctors and nurses now in exile, some of them formerly in senior positions, dispute the story. One says that when she left in the first week in September eighteen babies at Maternity Hospital were in incubators, and that there were other incubators which had not been taken. (The highest figure offered for incubators at Maternity Hospital prior to the invasion is 80.) A senior staffer who left al-'Addan hospital at the start of October discounted the story of the Kuwaiti girl, saying no incubators had been taken.

The al-Razi hospital where the quadruplets were supposedly lodged has neither maternity ward nor incubators and is an orthopedic hospital. Another version of this story has the victims as twins, not quadruplets.

There have been two or three other testimonies surfacing in press reports but they are either second-hand or self-interested. Aziz abu-Hamad says that as yet no credible eye-witness or testimony has surfaced to sustain the charges.

Does it matter that the Iraqis amid their looting and murders did not kill scores if not hundred of babies by stealing their incubators? Does it matter that, according to Middle East Watch they probably killed between 500-600 in Kuwait, not the vastly greater figure claimed by the Kuwaiti government in exile? It does matter. Human Rights organizations should have higher standards than the yellow press, otherwise they add to the lies which, in this crisis, are already shoulder-deep, starting with Bush's early pledge that US troops were going to the Gulf purely to defend Saudi Arabia. War brings a deluge of propaganda designed to gull us and to protect government. The incubator myth shows how quick we are to believe something when it grabs so savagely at our instincts.

Regina Costa, a member of No Sweat, pays for our printing of Cockburn's each month. Thanks!

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Change of Free Military Draft Counseling Session Location Notice

Due to the overwhelming demand for these sessions, the Draft Counseling Center is moving them to a larger facility for the following dates.

Monday - February 11th
Monday - February 25th

6 -8 pm
Lacey Community Church
4501 19th Avenue SE
(between College & Golf Club Rd)

For more information, call the Thurston County Draft Counseling Center.

943-9093

Technology Assessment

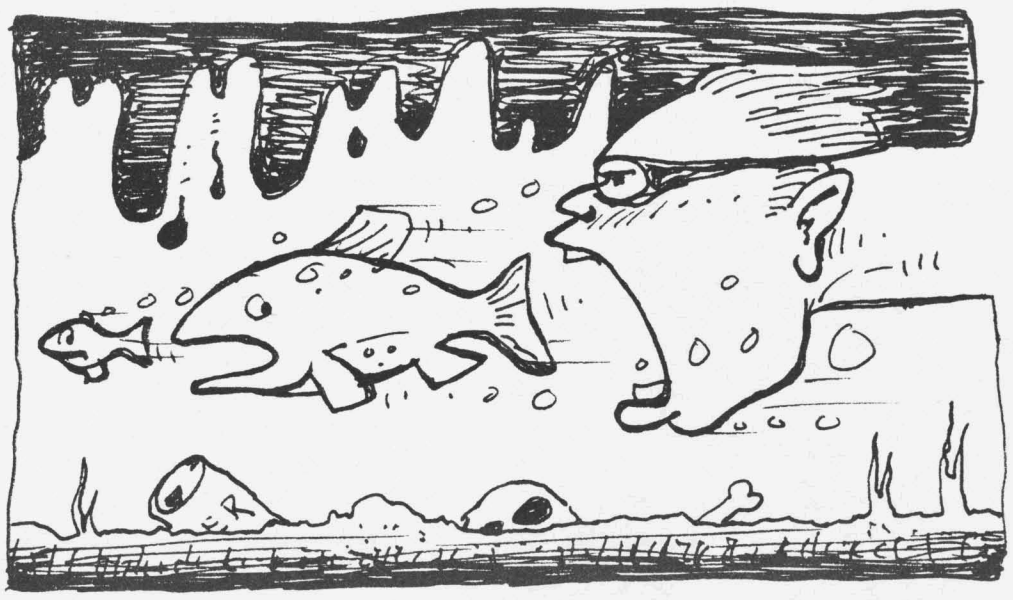
PCBs: The Inheritance of Future Generations

By Lon Freeman

PCBs are toxic substances that have been banned from manufacture in the U.S. since 1979. They are a class of chlorinated aromatic hydrocarbons that have become ubiquitous in the environment. The widespread use of PCBs in industrial/commercial applications and their formerly haphazard manner of handling and disposal throughout the industrialized world have contributed to their pervasive and persistent presence. There are 209 different configurations of PCB compounds or isomers determined by the number of chlorine atoms and their positions bonded to the biphenyl molecule nuclei. PCBs were manufactured in the U.S. from 1929 to 1977 by the Monsanto Industrial Chemicals Company and marketed under the tradename "Aroclor". Monsanto's PCB aroclors (typically aroclor #s "1242", "1254", "1260", etc.) have varying percentages of chlorination by weight. Aroclor 1242 is a 42% chlorinated PCB, Aroclor 1254 is a 54% chlorinated PCB, etcetera. This is significant because the higher chlorinated PCBs are considered to be a more highly toxic form and are more persistent in the environment.

All PCBs tested to date have exhibited adverse effects across the evolutionary spectrum of biota. Concentrations of Aroclor 1254 as low as 0.1 ppb (1/10 of a part per billion, equivalent to 1 pound of PCBs distributed evenly throughout 10 billion pounds of another medium) have been demonstrated to depress photosynthetic activity in phytoplankton. According to the April, 1990 Registry of Toxic Effects of Chemical Substances (generated by National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, NIOSH) PCBs have produced tumors of the liver and pituitary gland and leukemias in animals and have notable skin, liver and reproductive system effects in humans. According to the National Toxicology Program's 5th Annual Report On Carcinogens, the U.S. Government's largest carcinogen testing operation, many of the tested PCB aroclors are "anticipated to be (human) carcinogens". However, this determination is qualified by "limited evidence" in animal and human studies.

PCBs are extremely stable and persistent in the environment. Barring the development of innocuous, engineered biological organisms that "eat" the stuff, significant proportions of environmentally released or landfilled PCBs are predicted to cycle through Earth's ecosystems for thousands of years. The stability and persistence of environmentally released PCBs result in their bioaccumulation and bioconcentration in the food chain. Top predators in the food chain may have tissue concentrations of PCBs 10 million to 100 million times the level in the ambient environment. Virtually all humans and other mammals have background levels of PCBs selectively evident in fatty body tissues and mother's milk, with the greatest concentrations geographically occurring in the industrialized states of the world. PCBs do not exist in nature other than through human manufacture.



Historically, the single largest use for PCBs in the U.S. (approximately 70% of production) was in the manufacturing of electrical equipment, where they function as insulating (or dielectric) fluids. Certain PCB oils used as dielectric fluids in transformers have been called transformer "Askarels". Askarel type transformers contain greater concentrations of PCBs in their fluid than mineral oil type transformers and askarel transformers generally contain a varying amount of chlorinated benzenes in addition to PCBs. Askarel transformers typically contain trace impurities of chlorinated dioxins and furans as well, which are generated from the chlorinated benzene molecules under certain conditions. These two classes of compounds, the dioxins and furans, are of far greater toxicity than even PCBs, a matter of significance to which I will return. Only 5% of electrical transformers produced in the U.S. through 1978 were impregnated with PCB fluids. (The General Electric transformers the Port of Olympia utilized were among them. Further, I believe they were of the askarel type, containing higher concentrations of PCBs and chlorinated benzenes impurities, but this awaits confirmation from the Port.) In contrast, 95% of all capacitors produced through 1978 were PCB impregnated. I would be interested to know if the Port has employed any capacitors in its electrical power circuit for cold storage buiding compressor motors or for other uses, in addition to the PCB transformers used.

By the mid 1960s, considerable concern was expressed by scientific and environmental groups over the dispersion of PCBs and other toxic substances in the environment and the attendant hazards to human health and ecological integrity. For the ensuing decade, there was a widespread public campaign to enact national legislation to control and eliminate PCBs in the full course of its production, use and disposal cycle. The Toxic Substances Control Act (TSCA) took effect January 1, 1977. Section 6(e) of TSCA banned the use of PCBs in any manner that is not "totally enclosed" after January 1, 1978; banned the manufacture of PCBs after January 1, 1979; and banned the distribution in commerce of PCBs after July 1, 1979 except by exemption from the EPA adminstrators. With regard to PCB askarel transformers, the most recent rulings I have seen indicate that most if not all of these transformers must have been taken out of service by October 1, 1990.

Roughly 1.25 billion pounds of PCBs were introduced into commerce in the U.S. since 1929. One estimate speculates that 750 million pounds of PCBs are still in service and that 150 million pounds are free in the environment (dated figures, 1978). Other estimates vary between 300 million pounds and 770 million pounds free in the environment, including losses to dumps and landfills under varying degrees of control. Figures I have access to indicate 300 million pounds of PCBs are or were in the Askarel type transformers, nation wide, which I believe the Port of Olympia has employed. An EPA source claims 163 million pounds in both transformers and capacitors as of 1987; clearly there are conflicting estimates. These figures are dated and tentative at best; I use them for rough illustrative purposes. The long term control strategy for a PCBs regulatory regime by EPA is to phase out of service remaining PCB equipment/materials/fluids and dispose of them through thermal and non-thermal destruction technologies or bury the lower concentration PCB items in hazardous waste landfills. There are limitations, potential consequences and benefits for each set of approaches.

The manufacture of PCBs is a thing of the past. Good riddance! Alternate technologies have been developed to replace their once useful functions. Nevertheless, for many, many generations PCBs are likely to be inheritances to the grandchildren of the world to come.

Port Of Olympia PCB Spill Still Raises Concerns

Lon Freeman

The August, 1990 issue of Green Pages (the newsletter of the South Puget Environmental Education Clearing House, SPEECH) contained a Port of Olympia response to questions presented by a group of local residents concerning a small PCB (Poly-Chlorinated Biphenyls) stain on the floor of the Cold Storage building on Port property. The highly concentrated PCB fluids leaked or spilled from 3 electrical transformers located inside the building which the Port had in use since 1947. The transformers and their remaining PCB fluids were removed in August of 1989 and were presumably destroyed by EPA permitted facilities in Texas and Kansas by November, 1989 and February, 1990 according to regulations under the Toxic Substances Control Act and the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (TSCA and RCRA). As of June, 1990 a 2'x 6' section of contaminated concrete floor was excavated and sealed in 4 drums with other contaminated material and was awaiting shipment to the Arlington, Oregon hazardous waste facility for containment. Two soil samples were analysed beneath

(Continued next page)

Since the Port has not been able to specify how the leak or spill occurred, or the quantities that spilled, and has acknowledged that no maintenance records exist from 1947-1987, we are left largely in the dark with a potentially important concern.

Hazardous wastes are a result of production processes and end use technologies and their disposal. Rather than having to deal with hazardous waste products in very complex, piecemeal and insufficient regulatory regimes which burden the well being of the disenfranchised classes and people of color disproportionately, let us become focused on assessing the potential impacts of technologies before massive expenditures are invested in their commercial development, that is, in the research stage. I am arguing for vehicles of public participation in technology assessment at the research stage. Certainly, the overwhelming amounts of hazardous wastes already in our midst will have to be destroyed or recycled with greater equitability and efficiency than has been historically evidenced. But this valid preoccupation should not preclude us from developing an effective, if nascent movement to stem the production of new hazardous wastes and assess technologies at the front end of the production/consumption/disposal cycle, in the research stage. The increasing global integration of capital, of information flow, of material production and of penetration of markets seems to be carrying on its wave a trend toward the international trans-shipment of toxic and hazardous wastes, particularly to Third World and South countries where the management and regulation of such wastes are far less stringent than in the U.S., if not nonexistent. This situation has been documented in a PBS/Bill Moyers report, "The Global Dumping Ground", and is available in book format as well. Whether the regulatory apparatus within the U.S., within other industrial states, or embodied in international regulatory agencies is capable of tracking the flow of hazardous materials internationally is an open question. Therefore, the geographical scope of our technology assessment work must try to deveop international networks of grassroots people who share information and attempt to track the flow of both hazardous wastes and the research efforts which may generate new and unwarranted hazardous wastes. The greatest single route of global PCB dispersion after all is atmospheric transport which does not act in accord with the sovereign political jurisdictions of nation states. The increasing global penetration of the capitalist mode of production and its waste products are also generating a dynamic which transcends the boundaries of the nation state.

Lon Freeman is a resident of Olympia, has a graduate degree in Environmental Studies, is an ongoing student of Science, Technology, and Society (STS) and he chairs the Budd Inlet Citizens' Advisory Committee.

Top predators in the food chain may have tissue concentrations of PCBs 10 million to 100 million times the level in the ambient environment.

(Spill continued)

the excavated concrete floor and tested at below reliable detection limits for PCBs. Consequently, the soils were left untreated and intact.

The General Electric transformers which the Port employed for 41 years I believe used the PCB askarel type of insulating fluid. But this is only a guess. Typically these transformer askarels used "Aroclor 1254" as the particular commercial PCB mixture. Investigators (Sissons and Welti, 1971) have identified 69 PCB isomers (molecular configurations) in Monsanto's Aroclor 1254. Further, Aroclor 1254 is typically not a "pure" PCB but contains chlorinated benzenes and polychlorinated dibenzofurans ("furans", PCDFs).

Since the Port has not been able to specify how the leak or spill occurred, or the quantities that spilled, and has acknowledged that no maintenance records exist from 1947-1987, we are left largely in the dark with a potentially important concern. There may have been a breach in the housing of the transformer where the PCB leak or spill occurred, perhaps allowing the PCB liquid inside the still operating transformers to be exposed to oxygen in the air. The electrical arcing taking place within the breached operating transformer may have produced sufficient heat in the oxygenated PCB, chloro-benzene liquid to produce higher concentrations of the more pernicious forms of dioxins and furans as well. To the best of my knowledge, neither furans nor dioxins were tested in any of the contaminated materials, including the floor and soils and there is the potential that these highly toxic substances were produced and leaked. This possibility is at least expressed as a controversy in some of the literature I have scanned on transformer PCBs (source: "Characterization of PCB Transformer/Capacitor Fluids and Correlation with PCDDs and PCDFs in Soot", EPA/600/S2-87/004, April, 1987).

Admittedly, there are many uncertainties in this hypothesis but the point is that testing for the highly toxic contaminants was not conducted. Among the questions left unanswered in the Port transformer PCB incident are: what were the PCB liquid constituents in this particular instance, what Aroclors and what other compounds? Were organic solvents ever used as degreasing agents in the cleaning or maintenance of the transformers? In light of the controversies over transformer PCBs and PCDDs and PCDFs (dioxins and furans), were other contaminants tested for in any of the contaminated materials, including the soils, and if not, why? If this information is available in any of the records relating to this incident, it would be helpful to have it published in the GREEN PAGES and in WORKS IN PROGRESS, if only for historical interest. The PCB liquids and transformer carcasses themselves have presumably been incinerated and "destroyed" to EPA's standards, in Texas and in Kansas within the past year. I wonder if there was monitoring of those particular batches for excessive levels of dioxins and furans through the incineration process and/or if they were "destroyed" to EPA's acceptable levels?

I would like to thank the Port Commissioners and Port staff for their receptiveness and timely response to our inquiries. Open and frank dialogue in our community can only lead to a more enlightened understanding of our present predicament and of the tradeoffs involved in any mitigating measures. Dialogue can also stimulate a search for a broader spectrum of long-range solutions to the present global ecological crisis, for events that seemingly occur only in our own back yard are also occurring all over the world.

State Workers 'Fight Back' Rally

Kristine Kraig

Our Fight Back Rally will be held in Olympia on 2-22-91. It is extremely important that each of you take a couple of hours off work to participate in the rally to show the Governor that we as state employees are not willing to have our medical benefits cut back. Right now, under the Governor's proposed budget he proposes funding only half of the increase in our medical costs. This leaves $75.00 of unpaid medical insurance for each employee. This will mean increased insurance premium participation or increased co-pay at the minimum. We as employees would be losing the very raise the union worked hard to obtain for employees in the last biennium.

The Governor proposes about an 8% (4.2 and 3.8) wage increase over the next two years. The cost of living increase we are subject to as state citizens is 6% in one year alone. We won't be receiving enough to keep up with the cost of living let alone pay for the medical cost increase.

The Governor is also trying to gut civil service protection to return to patronage appointments. We are looking at some major problems facing us as state employees. We lost a lot of legislative support due to the defeat of many of our supportive legislators in the last election. Mike Kreidler, one of our major supporters has been called into active duty and lost his position because of regulations stating he cannot serve while in active duty.

We need to rally together to let the Governor know that we are tired of balancing the budget for the government at our financial expense. He needs to know that we voted to have the independent personnel system and that we don't want him trying to change this system.

We will meet at 10:00 am at Sylvester Park. The Federation will provide hotdogs and hamburgers before the march which will start at 11:30. There will be 100 parking places at the Port of Olympia by East Bay Marina. There will be shuttle service from this parking lot to Sylvester Park. It would be nice to car pool as many as possible. Also the shuttle service runs out to airdustrial. We need to coordinate those attending. You would need to put a leave slip in for the time, but it could be one of the best investments you can make of your leave. We need to unite for this rally. State employees have been putting on these rally's in their areas since fall. This is the final rally and considering the number of state employees in Olympia, we need to have the best turn out ever. News media will be there and it is time to show the Governor now strongly we feel about these issues. Contact Kristine Kraig, 586-4179 or any shop steward for more information and transportation arrangements. If you don't want to arrive at 10:00 we can have a shuttle service for 11:00 to drop you off at the park for the 11:30 start of the march. Put your leave slips in now for this important day for the state employees. Each one of you count and can make a difference.

Kristine Kraig is a member of AFSCME local #443.

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Inside The House Chambers

Patrick Gihring and Ceiridwen Terrill

On Tuesday, January 15, 1991, 2,000 demonstrators gathered at Sylvester Park in downtown Olympia to protest U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf Conflict and the us of Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday as the deadline for war. The demonstrators marched to the capitol steps where several speakers denounced U.S. foreign policy and its relation to the Gulf conflict. The demonstrators then marched onto the capitol demanding to speak to representatives. As no representatives answered the demands, demonstrators decided to occupy the House Chambers. The objectives of the occupation at first were not clearly defined as the occupation itself was a spontaneous action. The demonstrators broke off into smaller groups to discuss occupying the House Chambers overnight. Later, a Representative appeared and explained the state legislature's position on U.S. involvement, presenting a resolution which called for negotiations rather than war. However, the resolution was weak in condemning U.S. involvement in the Gulf conflict, giving permission for the use of military force if economic sanctions proved ineffective in forcing Iraq out of Kuwait by the end of one year.

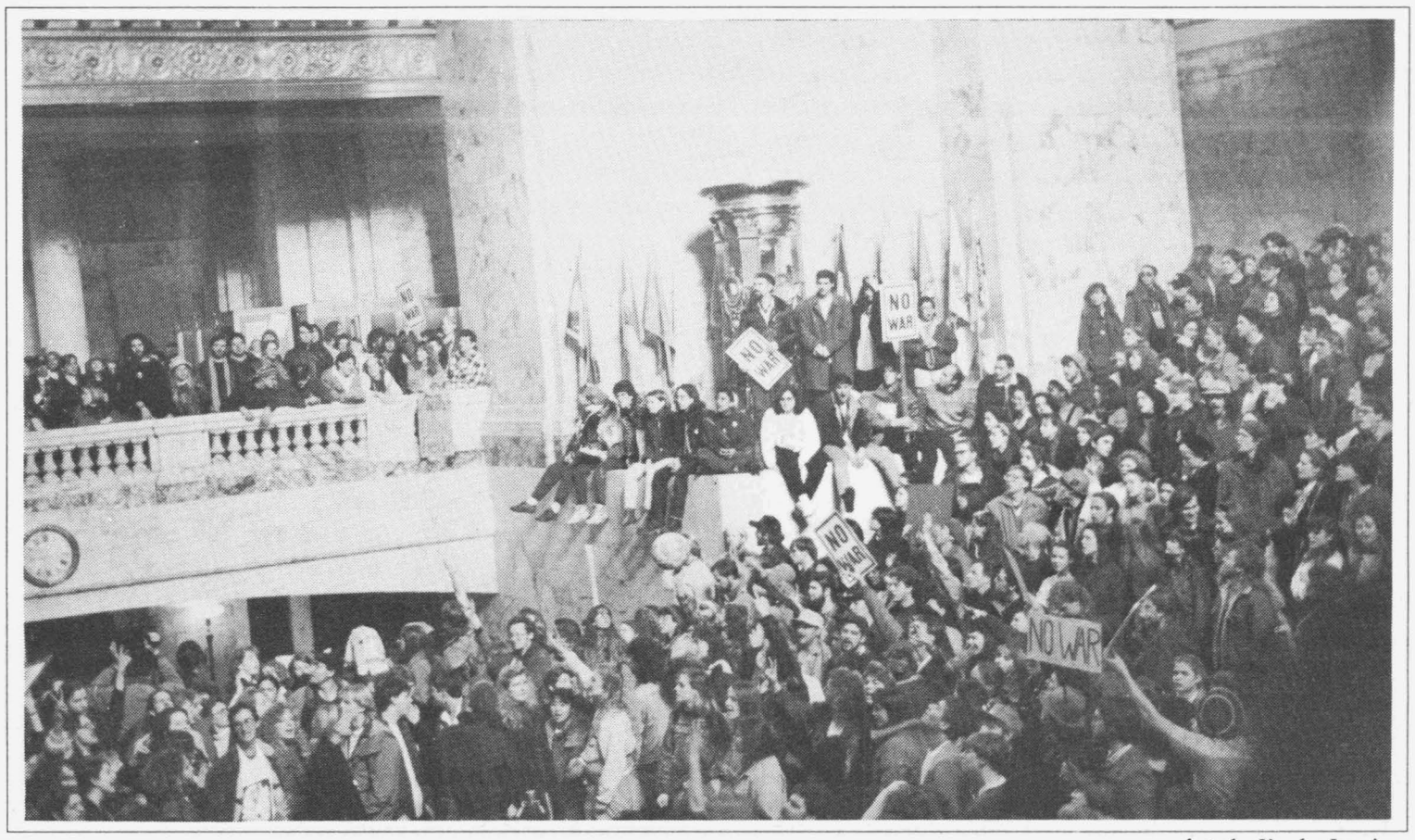

photo by Kendra Jennings

As objectives of the occupation became delineated and solidified, there developed a division between the liberals and the radicals in the roup as to the implications of the action. The liberals tended to focus on using the occupation as a leverage to push negotiative resolutions to the table. On the other hand, radicals focused away from legislative processes and saw the occupation as a seizure of governmental power. This seizure of the state capitol represented a belief in the inadequacy of the legal, political process as a means to democracy and stopping the war.

photo by Kendra Jennings

photo by Kendra Jennings

photo by Kendra Jennings

The demonstrators were peaceful throughout the night in honor of Martin Luther King Jr.'s commitment to peaceful nonviolence. No one was arrested. It was a unanimous decision of the group to condemn the Bush administration's eagerness to commit the U.S. to war, the use of Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday as the deadline, and to support troops on all sides and civilian victims of the war.

Patrick and Ceiridwen are students at Evergreen.

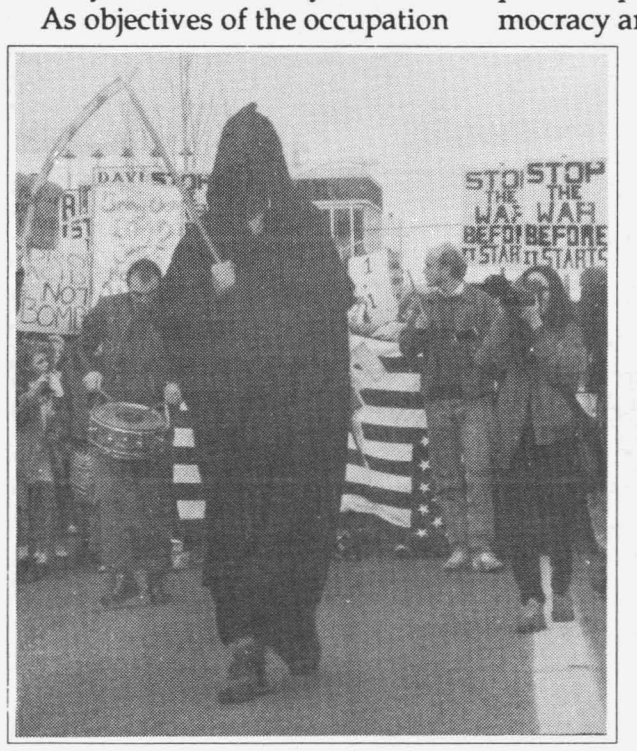

photo by David Richey

Below: At the Federal Building after the US attacked Iraq,

photo by Chris Jordon